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CUSTOMARY LAW: THE LIMITS OF ITS VALIDITY IN COLONIAL LAW

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SYNOPSIS

This essay aims to delimit the scope of the operation of customary law in English colonial law. Customary law has in varying degrees been recognized as forming part of the local law of almost every British territory: the one touchstone of the validity of any alleged rule of customary law is that it must neither infringe an established statutory or common law principle nor must it be contrary to the principles of "natural justice, equity and good conscience". In practice, however, this apparently simple provision not infrequently gives rise to controversy, especially when applied to unusual circumstances by English or English-trained colonial judges whose conception of public policy is sometimes at variance with indigenous ideas. Clearly barbarous customs, such as witchcraft practices and trial by ordeal, are easily ruled out of court but not so borderline cases that neither pique the judges' enlightened sense of morality and fairness nor affront the indigenous code of ethics. It is with the delicate and often nice questions of establishing acceptable criteria of legal validity for particular rules of customary law in the very diverse conditions of British colonial territories that the analysis that follows attempts to deal. Customary law is still an integral part of modern colonial law and a close examination of the limits of its operation within the latter is certainly overdue.

WHENEVER English law was introduced into a colony the traditional British policy has been to give recognition to such aspects of customary law as are found to be well-established and not contrary to morality or justice. Sometimes, recognition is clear and prompt, as when the local community has at the time of British advent reached a comparatively advanced stage of civilization and its customary law is fairly firm and ascertainable, at least in essentials. At other times, recognition is vague and tardy, as when for various reasons the local community is insufficiently organized or supposed to be so at the first arrival of the British.

It can perhaps be said that an imponderable factor in these differing attitudes is whether British rule has been established direct or whether it has had to await administrative pioneer

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work by a British trading company (or even a foreign Government or trading firm) before finally taking over. Where the latter is the case, as for example in the Union of South Africa and in Northern Rhodesia,[1] the process seems to have been for the handful of British people engaged in doing such spade-work to establish courts and to introduce English law for themselves on the old common law principle that an Englishman takes English law with him wherever he goes,[2] but to leave the surrounding natives severely alone until either the pressure of culture contact or the necessities of trade made it no longer possible to ignore what goes on among the "natives".

Whether recognition accorded to a colony's customary law has been early or late in the establishment of that colony, one reads this typical provision in almost all colonial Supreme Court, or Courts, Ordinances :

> "Nothing in this Ordinance shall deprive the Courts of the right to observe and enforce the observance, or shall deprive any person of the benefit, of any native law or custom not being repugnant to natural justice, equity or good conscience, or incompatible, either in terms or by necessary implication, with any Ordinance or any rule, regulation, order, proclamation or by-law made under any Ordinance for the time being in force in the Territory."[3]

In the same clause is usually contained a provision that "native law and custom" applies (1) where the parties to a suit are "natives" and (2) where neither party to a dispute has "agreed or must be taken to have agreed that his obligations ... shall be regulated exclusively by some law or laws other than native customary law." In cases where no express rule can be found to regulate the matter in dispute, the court "shall be guided by the principles of justice, equity and good conscience."[3]

Some of the foregoing statutory provisions have been judicially considered in a number of colonial courts' judgements. Thus, in the well known Nigerian *cause celebre* – *Cole v. Cole*,[4] Raynet, C. J., made this confession of an earlier error: "I *then* thought that under s. 19 of the Supreme Court Ordinance this case must be governed by native law. I considered that native law must be applied in all cases where the parties are natives ..." We therefore see that "native law and custom" does not automatically apply wherever the parties to a dispute are "natives",[5] since not all natives are subject to the operation of customary law. But, perhaps, equally significant in this connexion is the learned Chief Justice's further remark:

> "The court is not bound to observe Native custom in every case where the custom is not repugnant to natural justice, etc., nor incompatible with any local ordinance. When the court has before it a matter which is purely 'Native', or where all the circumstances to be taken into account are connected with native life, habit or custom, then, undoubtedly Native law and custom should apply. Where, on the other hand, the matter before the court contains elements foreign to Native life, habit, and custom, the court is not bound to observe Native law and custom."

[1] Recognition was given to customary law in 1927 in the Union of South Africa by the Native Administration Act No. 38 (of that year) ; in 1929 in Northern Rhodesia by the Native Courts Ordinance (of that year). In both cases, effective British rule had been established much earlier.

[2] *Campbell v. Hall* (1774) Cowp. 204 ; *Blankard v. Galdy* (1693) 2 Salk 411. This often means in practice that the settlers took with them only so much of the English common law as local circumstances would permit. Generally, a colony acquired by occupation or discovery is to be governed by the laws of England ; but if acquired by cession or conquest, then by its own laws so far as these are not contrary to morality or remain unchanged.

[3] See, e.g., s. 17 of Cap. 3 of 1953 edition of Laws of N. Rhodesia ; s. 74 (1) of Cap. 4 of the Laws of the Gold Coast (1936 edition) ; s. 19 of Cap. 211 of the 1948 edition of the Laws of Nigeria. The Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865 provides that any colonial law which is in any way repugnant to an Imperial Act extending to the colony to which such law may relate, or to any order or regulation made under any such Imperial Act, shall be read subject to such Act, order or regulation, and shall to the extent of such repugnancy, be void.

[4] (1898) 1 Nig. L. R. 15, at p. 23.

[5] It depends a good deal on "who is a native ?" according to a particular colony's laws. There is some colonial divergence on this matter.

Thus it can be seen that the mere lack of an element of repugnancy in an alleged custom does not bind the court before which it is invoked to apply customary law. As to what matters may be regarded as "connected with native life, habit or custom", the Courts Ordinances are, however, usually clear. Causes treated as particularly within the ambit of customary law are those relating to "marriage under native customary law, and to the tenure and transfer of real and personal property, and to inheritance and testamentary dispositions, and in civil causes and matters between natives and non-natives, where it shall appear to the Court that substantial injustice would be done to any party by a strict adherence to the rules of any law or laws other than native customary law."[1]

The very important reservations contained in this almost invariable provision of colonial Ordinances deserve detailed consideration but, as that must necessarily raise wider issues of general policy regarding the doctrine of repugnancy in colonial law, we had better deal with the latter first.

When it is said that a colonial judge ought to uphold a rule of customary law unless it is "repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience", we may well ask by what criteria is he to determine the issue ? An English judge sitting in an English court over a dispute between English litigants usually has a rough and ready yardstick of ascertaining and applying public policy or morality prevailing in the community at a given period. In the different condition of a colonial environment his task is not so easy.[2] Is he to apply the standards of purely English or purely European or purely Christian morals and values to alien peoples or, supposing that that were possible to discover, local sentiments of right and wrong ?

It may be said that, generally, British colonial policy in the sphere of law has been not to judge the validity of local law and custom by the standards of western thought or Christian ethics, but by the canons of decency and humanity considered appropriate to the situation in hand. Any alleged law or custom that repudiates these is either expressly disallowed by legislation or frowned upon by the courts. It is not often easy to decide what ought to be the true morality in a particular colony's conditions. A constant judicial dilemma is to strike a nice balance between what is reasonably tolerable and what is essentially below the minimum standard of civilized values in the contemporary world.[3]

This broad statement of legal policy does not exclude the possibility of occasional but wrongful application of English legal ideas in the determination of alien issues. Thus, in the old *Tanistry Case*,[4] the common law tests of custom were used by an English judge to break up the social organization of the Irish nobility.[5] The matter in issue in that case was the validity of the Irish Brehon law of succession, according to which the property of a landowner descended not to the eldest child – as was the case under the English rule of primogeniture – but to the "*senior et dignissimus* of the blood and surname of the last owner". The existence of this Irish custom, together with its *raison d'être*, was proved to the satisfaction of the judges, yet they abrogated it as "*ecounter* the Commonwealth" because it seemed to them to outrage the English feudal principle that there must not be a gap in the seisin and that daughters should not be excluded in the event of the failure of heirs male.[6] This case has become the *locus classicus* on the subject of customary law in English law.

Some three hundred years later, another effort

[1] S. 17 of Cap. 3 of 1953 edition of N. Rhodesia Laws.

[2] It is, however, easier for a native judge to assess current notions of accepted social and moral values among members of the local community. But this advantage is sometimes exaggerated. What, for example, about customs in the Native Courts ? Who decides whether or not they are repugnant ? The District Officer or the Native Court Judges ? And by what criteria ? Again, is an African judge in a Superior Court necessarily as well versed in local law as is usually supposed ?

[3] Some of the difficulties of this problem have been considered by Julius Lewin in his *Studies in African Native Law* (1947), pp. 103–13.

[4] (1608), Dav. 28.

[5] Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common law* (4th edition), p. 295.

[6] Maine's comment on the case was that "the judges thoroughly knew that they were making a revolution, and they probably thought that they were substituting a civilized institution for a set of mischievous usages proper only to barbarians". ("Early History of Institutions", Lecture VII.)

was made to import English common law concepts into an alien situation. Bailey, a former Chief Justice of the Gold Coast, was once confronted with the problem of finding a satisfactory basis for the validity of an alleged rule of customary law. His solution was peremptorily to hold in *Welbeck v. Brown*[1] that, as a general rule, no local custom could be valid which had not existed since A.D. 1189, the arbitrary date fixed by English law for presuming the existence of an alleged right *in alieno solo* from a time "when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary".[2] Happily, this amusing decision has not been followed in later cases.

The Judicial Committee expressed the normal view when it said in the Gold Coast case of *Amissah v. Krabah*[3] that "the material customs must be proved in the first instance by calling witnesses acquainted with them until the particular customs have, by frequent proof in the courts, become so notorious that the courts take judicial notice of them". This is certainly a far saner guide to colonial judges than any blundering importation of English legal rules into a wholly exotic context.

On the whole, however, the judicial attitude to colonial customary law has always been more liberal than such isolated instance of prejudice as in the *Tanistry Case* would suggest. As we have said, the two factors of legal change in customary law are legislation and judicial decisions.

Certain customary practices which, on any view, must be considered barbarous or positively harmful in the circumstances of to-day have been abolished by specific legislation in all British colonial territories. Slave-raiding and slavery, witchcraft, trial by ordeal and the destruction of twins at birth in order to avert a supposedly impending catastrophe, are examples of particular customs declared to be criminal offences under various colonial enactments like the Criminal or Penal Code, Witchcraft Ordinance and Obeah Law. But on account of the difficulty of defining precisely what actually constitutes these often imprecise notions of customary practices, colonial courts have been frequently called upon to elucidate disputed issues.

Thus, in *Rex v. Kapsepsye*,[4] the accused performed certain alleged healing operations which consisted of placing a glass on the patient's chest, cutting the chest and appearing to extract various articles from the mouth, in one case two pieces of bamboo and in another a human eye. In holding that the Witchcraft Ordinance of Nyasaland[5] contains no definition of witchcraft and that there was no evidence that the accused held himself out as having the power of witchcraft, Johnson, J., said: "Faith-healing with an accompaniment of sleight of hand does not seem to be among the evils aimed at in the Witchcraft Ordinance. There are no particulars of the false pretence in the charge, and the accused would therefore not be in a position to know the case he had to meet." Similarly, in *Rex v. Binyansi*,[6] the accused had been summoned to treat a sick child for whom he prepared a medicine to swallow and another to be rubbed on. Guthrie Smith, Ag. C. J. of Uganda, held that there was nothing to show that any supernatural power had been claimed, and the medicine might well have been nothing but herbal simples which were possibly as effective as most medicines. The learned Chief Justice observed:[7] "I do not think that s. 2 (of the Criminal Law (Witchcraft) Ordinance, 1912, of Uganda) covers such a case as that. From the rest of the Ordinance it is quite clear that the point of witchcraft aimed at is sorcery or incantation exercised with the intention of causing

[1] See p. 185 of Sarbah's *Fanti Customary Law*; also *Mutchi v. Annan*, Redwar 211 (1907), and *J. of Comp. Leg. and I. Law*, N. S. XIX (1908).

[2] Compare an analogous view expressed with regard to India in *Doe d. Jagomohan Rai v. Srimati Nimu Dasi* (Montrion's Cases in Indian Law, p. 596); and *Garurudhwaja Parshad Singh v. Saparadhwaja P. S.* (1900) L. R. 27, I. A. 238, in which, while rejecting for India the dating of the antiquity of valid customs back to 1189, another arbitrary date more suited to Indian conditions was laid down.

[3] (1936) 2 W. A. C. A. 30; See also the Nigerian case of *Buraimo v. Bamgboye* (1940) 15 N. L. R. 139 where it was held that the courts must take judicial notice of particular customs well-established by frequent proof.

[4] Cr. Rev. Case No. 45/1935 (Vol. IV, *Nyasaland Law Reports*, p. 22).

[5] Indeed, of any other colony, protectorate or trust territory.

[6] (1921) 3 Uganda L. R. 60.

[7] *Ibid.*, at p. 61.

harm or the fear of it." Although the same conclusion was reached in both these cases, the second *dictum* is nevertheless more enlightening as to the nature of witchcraft, which still defies definition.

But this judicial caution about convictions for witchcraft of any person making a shady pretence will not be observed where it is clear that the accused has really laid claim to supernatural power or skill. Of course, the line between faith-healing and occult power is sometimes a very difficult one to draw, but the courts are astute enough to avoid being hoodwinked by an artful dodger. Thus, in the Trinidad case of *Duval v. Lambert*,[1] Duval was convicted of obtaining sums of money by the assumption of supernatural power to take away an evil spirit by making his victims look into a glass with a sword on it and to drink some liquid in order to cure such persons. His defence was that he only gave persons advice as to taking healing medicines. But, Deane, J., disbelieved his story and gave this vivid description[2] of the whole *arcana* of the art, ancient and modern, of the practised witch-doctor:

> "The section under which the charge is laid (s. 3 of Ordinance No. 5) is a section designed to deal with persons who by the practice of *obeah* defrauded others. The object of the *obeah-man* is always so to play upon the superstitions of the ignorant or weak-minded as to induce them to part with their money in the expectation that he by his supernatural powers or knowledge may be able to obtain for them their desires . . . No doubt in times when Voodooism was a strong tradition there was in his transactions an admixture of heathenish rites and ceremonies, and for those who applied for a cure for some bodily ill or to bring some bodily ill upon others there were forthcoming concoctions from native roots and herbs, the knowledge of which had been handed down from the old witch-doctors or medicine-men as more potent even than their incantations ; but in these later times with the spread of Christianity, crucifixes and images of the Virgin are the adjuncts most frequently met with, while for native herbs are substituted the simple remedies of the British Pharmocopoeia."[3]

In order, however, to discourage any secret practice of witchcraft, it is often provided also that all those taking part are equally guilty of the offence. For consenting to the holding of a trial by ordeal as well as presiding at such a trial two persons were respectively convicted.[4] Even failure to report such an incident may amount to having "permitted, encouraged or facilitated" a trial by prohibited ordeal;[5] but not, it would seem, if a chief or headsman within whose territory or village any prohibited trial by ordeal took place did not know of it.[6]

As for slavery and slave-dealing, the colonial courts have had less difficulty in dealing with it and its subtler manifestations. Thus in the Gold Coast case of *In re Kweku Damptey*,[7] the West African Court of Appeal had no hesitation in holding that the Ashanti custom of "Akinkwa", by which a deceased person was regarded as having been "dashed" i.e. given to the plaintiff's "stool" and thus enabling plaintiff to claim to be entitled to administer the estate of the deceased, was void as "repugnant to justice, equity and good conscience". Not dissimilar was the claim of the family head in the Nigerian case of *In re Offiong Okon Ata*[8] to the personal estate of a former domestic of the family. In his Divisional Court judgment Butler Lloyd, J., remarked: "Personal property acquired by slaves is in their absolute disposition subject to the ordinary rules of law as to dealings with it, and to hold that the

[1] (1921) 4 Trinidad and Tobago L. R. 104.
[2] At pp. 107–8 (*ibid.*).
[3] See also the Jamaica case of *Rex v. Swimmers and anor* (1949) 5 J. L. R. 155, particularly at p. 158 where the same gruesome details were given, this time including a fowl. See further, Obeah Law, Cap. 421 of the Jamaica Laws; and *The Supreme Court Decisions of Jamaica 1774–1923*, Vol. II, pp. 1530–8, entitled "Obeahism".
[4] *R. v. Umali and anor.* (Nyasaland L. R., Vol. IV, p. 58.)
[5] S. 7 of Witchcraft Ordinance (Nyasaland).
[6] *R. v. Nchilamwela* (Native Authority), at p. 93 of Nys. L. R., Vol. V.
[7] (1930) 1 W. A. C. A. 12.
[8] (1930) 10 Nig. L. R. 65 ; see also, *Martin v. Johnson* (1935) 12 Nig. L. R. 46. It is perhaps interesting to recall in this connexion that as late after the formal abolition of slavery as 1859 English law recognized a contract for the sale of a slave which was valid by the local law : *Santos v. Illidge* (1859) 8 C. B. (N. S.) 861.

mere fact of the slave continuing to reside on the communal property confers any rights whatever on the head of the house in respect of personal property would be very largely to render nugatory the provisions of the Slavery Abolition Ordinance; and to import a native custom to that effect would be contrary to natural justice."[1]

It must be noted that the foregoing examples do not exhaust, though they typify some of the most significant, rules and practices of customary observance which have had to be abolished by express legislation. It will also have been noticed that the relevant legislative provisions, while clear in their aim – namely, to stamp out all of such customs as are "repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience" throughout the colonies, are not usually precise enough in their wording to cover the obnoxious customs envisaged. This is largely due not so much to any ineptitude on the part of the legislators or the draughtsmen as to the amorphous nature of the indigenous concepts themselves. It is here that the courts step in to supply the verbal deficiency of particular pieces of legislation by a careful definition of the scope and essence of the prohibited customs, at least as these are understood and practised in the community concerned.[2]

We will now attempt to analyse in some detail the practical application by colonial courts of the Ordinance provision[3] which stipulates for the recognition of customary law relating to marriage and the family, land tenure and inheritance, and the like.

Marriage

This is one of the largest fields for very interesting experiments in the process of the recognition of customary law. Thus, although the English law conception of marriage is, according to the famous *dictum* of Sir J. P. Wilde in *Hyde v. Hyde*,[4] "the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others", yet British colonial courts are enjoined to recognize polygamy, which is the prevalent form of customary marriage in practically all the colonies.[5] Such recognition entails all the legal consequences that flow from ordinary English law marriages and are therefore not restricted to only matters of status and succession, as they are in English courts sitting in England over cases involving polygamy.[6] Indeed, a customary law marriage has equal legal validity with one celebrated under a colonial Marriage Ordinance.

It follows, therefore, that it is a punishable offence – which is, however, not always obvious from some of the colonial Marriage Ordinances – for anyone previously married under customary law to go through a ceremony of marriage prescribed by the Ordinance, and *vice versa*.[7] This means that during the subsistence of the one the other cannot take place without the person contracting either form of marriage being held guilty of an offence. Although the various colonial Marriage Ordinances speak of "an offence" without naming it, it is nevertheless clear that the offence meant is bigamy. Indeed, it was so held in the Southern Rhodesia case of *R. v. Kaodza*.[8]

The recognition given to a polygamous union throughout the colonies is therefore limited by the requirement that no other form of union can be

[1] See also, *Sarah Wood v. Maud Thompson* (reported at pp. 15–18 of Mr. Justice Earnshaw's *Judgments delivered at Cape Coast Castle, Gold Coast Colony (1909–1910)* in which a female slave purchased from Lagos about the year 1749 gave birth in the Gold Coast to a daughter who got married to a white man. *Held* that the three issues of this marriage should inherit their deceased father's estate as against the claims of the purchaser of their grandmother; and that it was repugnant to natural justice to hold otherwise.

[2] We shall recur later to the problems besetting the judge in this his rather Herculean task.

[3] See pp. 98 and 99 above.

[4] (1866) L. R., 1 P. D. 130, at p. 133.

[5] It must be remembered that recognition has neither been quick nor firm, owing to the wrong assumption in the early days of British contact that marriage payments on girls amounted to a sale of such girls to their men.

[6] *Baindail v. Baindail* (1946) p. 122; *Srini Vasan v. Srini Vasan* (1946) p. 67. It is not the status of marriage itself but the exercise of certain of its legal incidents to which an English court must have regard.

[7] See The Singapore Christian Marriage Ordinance, 1940; Sierra Leone Christian Marriage Order, 1924; Nigeria Marriage Ordinances (1884–1936); Gold Coast Marriage Ordinance, 1936; etc.

[8] (1912) S. R., L. R., 6. See, further, on this problem: *Studies in African Native Law* (1947), p. 50 (and, generally, pp. 49–56).

combined with it whilst it lasts.[1] This theoretical parity of status which a polygamous union thus enjoys side by side with marriage under a colonial Ordinance (i. e. English law) is qualified by the differential treatment accorded both in practice. Thus, under English criminal law, a spouse is not a competent and compellable witness against another unless, *inter alia*, the crime charged relates to acts of personal violence against the witness. But the same principle has not been applied in the case of polygamous unions, in that the evidence of a woman has been held admissible against the husband; for example, in *Robin v. R.*,[2] the Court of Appeal for East Africa held "that the English rule of non-admissibility of a wife as a witness against her husband never applied to a native polygamous marriage". Similarly, it was held in *Rex. v. Amkeyo*[3] that "communications made by a husband to his wife by native custom were not privileged . . . The reason given for the decision is the essential difference between the two unions."

In Kenya, the question of admissibility of a polygamous wife's evidence is governed by ss. 120 and 122 of the Evidence Act, the relevant portion of the earlier section running : "In criminal proceedings against any person, the husband or wife of such person respectively shall be a competent witness." But a similar provision in the Nyasaland Subordinate Courts Ordinance of 1906 was later repealed by s. 78 of its Courts Ordinance of 1929, which enacts that the wife of the person charged shall not be called as a witness except upon the application of her husband. Curiously enough, however, Johnson, J., held in the Nyasaland case of *Rex v. Ziyaya*[4] that "wife" in this context must be taken to mean wife by Christian rites only.

A more plausible case is *Rex v. Sikisi*,[5] where the accused was having a violent quarrel with his wife by customary union and the wife's sister tried to stop the quarrel. He turned on her and struck her with an axe. She died in consequence and the High Court held that, as the wife had been married to the accused before attaining her puberty, she was technically not a wife even under customary law.[6] She was accordingly held to be a competent witness for the prosecution against her "husband". This case can be supported on the ground that in fact as well as in law there was never a marriage between the accused and the witness. Johnson, J., observed:[7] "But in native law and custom there may be cases in which the status of wife must be conceded. It is conceivable that the union might not be dissimilar from the English conception of marriage. Similarly, it may be that even a polygamous union between Mohammedans might confer the status of "wife". It is a question of fact in each case."

In the light of this observation, let us now turn to other forms of customary union elsewhere in the British colonies. It seems that the essential character of the customary marriage which will be recognized depends on the formal requirements of the local law and the absence of any element of force, trickery or inhumanity. But the particular formalities for a valid marriage must be observed. Thus, in *Adabi v. Hertogh*,[8] Christian parents asked for the custody of their infant daughter from defendants, to one of whom (a female) she had been entrusted by her parents during the Japanese occupation of Java in 1942 and to the other of whom she had later been married according to Moslem law during the pendency of her parents' action for her recovery. It was agreed that no force or trick had been used to induce her into the marriage but that the *Kathi* (i. e. priest) who performed the ceremony of marriage could not show he had authority to act as *Wali* (i. e. guardian) as is requisite under Moslem law. The Singapore Court of Appeal therefore held (a) that under Mohammedan law,

[1] British policy in the dependent territories has generally fought shy of any idea to abolish polygamy by legislation ; the French, the Belgians and the Portuguese have, however, pursued the policy of abolition by legislation.

[2] (1929) 3 Nyasaland L. R. 34.

[3] 7 E. A. L. R. 14.

[4] (1935) Case No. 134 ; Vol. IV Nys. L. R. 54.

[5] (1936) Nys. L. R. 73.

[6] The judge apparently was unaware of this, as he gave as his reason that the woman was "not competent to consent as is requisite in an English marriage" (see p. 74, *ibid.*).

[7] *Ibid.*, at p. 74.

[8] (1951) 2 Malayan L. R. 215, 241.

as under English law, which is applicable in the colony, the capacity of each of the parties to a marriage must be judged by their respective *lex domicilii;* (b) that, as the thirteen-year-old girl had not the capacity under the law of her domicil to contract a valid marriage and the "husband" having failed to satisfy the court that he was domiciled in Singapore, the marriage was invalid under the law of the colony; and (c) that since the marriage was invalid her custody must be given to her parents.

There is nothing in the law of most of the colonies to forbid any two inhabitants from contracting a valid marriage, provided that such marriage complies with the local law appropriate to the particular ceremony adopted. *Carolis de Silva v. Tim Kim* [1] is authority for the view that mixed marriages between domiciled inhabitants of different races or religions can be validly contracted. It is therefore difficult to support the decision in *Re Bethell* [2] to the effect that a union between an Englishman and an African woman of the Barolong tribe in accordance with local customary law was not a valid marriage which a court in England would recognize. But since the decision seems to have been based on the fact that Barolong customary unions are polygamous, which unions have now been recognized by English courts, this objection would not now seem to be well-founded.[3] It is suggested with respect that an English court would not follow it to-day. In any case, hardly any colonial court recognizing customary unions would now accept it as an authority on the point.

Probably the most interesting example of mixed marriages celebrated in a colony is *Penhas v. Tan Soo Eng.*[4] There, the man was a Jew and the woman a non-Christian Chinese; and they were both British subjects domiciled in Singapore. In 1937, the marriage was solemnized at the woman's parents' house by a Chinese man who asked them both whether they were willing to be man and wife, to which they replied in the affirmative. Both then prayed in accordance with the customs of their respective religions, and lived together afterwards as man and wife until the husband's death in 1942. The question arose as to whether this composite ceremony created a lawful marriage. On appeal to the Privy Council it was held that (1) as neither of the parties was a Christian, the Christian Marriage Ordinance for Singapore, 1936, which provided that no marriage was valid unless celebrated in accordance with the Ordinance did not apply to them; (2) there was nothing in the religions or customs of the Jews or the Chinese domiciled in Singapore which prevented them from contracting a common law monogamous marriage; (3) the common law of England was in force in Singapore in 1937, except in so far as it was necessary to modify it to prevent hardship to the inhabitants who by the terms of the Charter of 1826 were entitled to the exercise of their religions and customs; and (4) as no particular form of marriage was applicable to both parties, they had adopted a composite ceremony which was intended by them to constitute a valid common law monogamous marriage.[5]

[1] (1902) ix, S. S. L. R. App. 8.

[2] (1887) 38 Ch. D. 220. *Graveson* doubts whether, in view of *Baindail v. Baindail* (in which an English court recognized a polygamous union) and later cases, *Re Bethell* is still good law. (See 1st. ed., p. 116, f.n. 93 of his *Conflict of Laws.*)

[3] It will be remembered that a Japanese customary union between an Englishman and a Japanese woman under Shinto rites was recognized by an English court in *Brinkley v. A. G.* (1890) L. R. 15 P. D. 76; and that a Russian marriage was also recognized in *Nachimson v. Nachimson* (1930) 99 L. J. P. 104, even though dissoluble at the wish of both, or either of the parties. We are of course told that these two decisions seem to have turned on the monogamous character of the marriages in question. If so, one fails to see how the marriage in *Re Bethell* could be other than monogamous. The husband, being an Englishman, would hardly have contracted a second marriage and, indeed, he died a monogamous husband. Nor was it contended that the Barolong woman would have taken a second husband during the lifetime of her first one. No such custom among the Barolong was ever alleged.

[4] (1953) A. C. 304. See a note on this case in the *Mod. Law Review*, Vol. 16, No. 3, July 1953, pp. 366–8.

[5] The Privy Council held in *Yeap Cheah Neo v. Ong Cheng Neo* (1875) L. R. 6 P. C. 381, that English common law is in force in Singapore in so far as it is applicable, but that the Charter of Justice of 1855 provides that the Supreme Court of the Colony is to exercise jurisdiction as an Ecclesiastical Court in "so far as the several religions, manners, and customs of the inhabitants shall permit". See also, *Wolfenden v. Wolfenden* (1946) p. 61.

Inheritance, Succession, etc.

As a matter of principle in colonial law generally, we may record here these words of Taylor, J., in the High Court Federation of Malaya case of *Jainah v. Mansor*:[1]

> "... the Court of Appeal (in *Woon Ngee Yew v. Ng Yoon Thai* (1940) F. M. S. L. R. 128) treated Chinese family law as a matter of evidence. In principle, there is no possible distinction for this purpose between Chinese customary law and Mohammedan or Hindu Law; all are of foreign origin and each forms part of the personal law of a local community."

The facts of the case itself were briefly as follows. A Malay woman claimed the custody of a twelve-year-old child on the ground of adoption. The child was the plaintiff's brother's daughter whom they had brought up from birth. The adoptive father died and shortly afterwards the natural father took the child away from the plaintiff woman by a combination of force and trick. The child thereafter lived, not in her original home but in her paternal grandfather's home. The trouble arose because the plaintiff wanted to go back to her own relatives in another part of Malaya, taking the child with her. The issues then were: (a) Was the original adoption lawful? (b) If so, who should win as between the blood relations of the child and the adoptive mother after the adoptive father's death. In awarding the custody of the child to the plaintiff, Taylor, J., said:

> "What is sometimes called 'pure Mohammedan law' does not recognize adoption in the sense of this case but the relevant law of these States is not pure Mohammedan law; the treaties call it 'Mohammedan law as varied by Malay custom'; historically, that is put the wrong way round; the personal law of the peninsular Malays is composite; it is ancient Malay custom modified or supplemented by subsequent adoption of part of the Mohammedan law; the extent to which the Moslem law has superseded the customary law varies from place to place but nowhere has the customary law wholly disappeared."

Let it be carefully noted that these observations are in substance true of the relation between indigenous customary law on the one hand and Mohammedan law on the other, wherever Islam has been introduced into any colonial territory. The learned judge's remark that adoption is a recognized part of the personal law of the Pahang Malays is equally true of other communities in the colonies. Finally, Taylor, J., rightly warned that, as a matter of evidence, a particular custom might nevertheless be valid even though it be at variance with the orthodox Mohammedan law. Indeed, the Privy Council in *Khan v. Rai*[2] expressly ordered that evidence be admitted to prove a customary rule of inheritance which was found to be at variance with Mohammedan law.

Similarly, mere incompatibility between an alleged rule of customary law and English Common law which is not "repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience" will not render the former invalid. That is why, for example, one finds that, in spite of the judicial strictures recorded earlier in the *Tanistry Case*,[3] an English judge (Johnson, J.) approved in *Ahmed & Others v. Mohamed & Others*[4] the following bequest to an executor in the will of a Shafei Mohammedan in Zanzibar: "To buy an immovable property in Zanzibar and keep it as a *wakf* in perpetuity, not liable to disposal or bestowal until God inherits the Earth and what is on it. Out of the income of the *wakf* a person shall be engaged to recite the Koran over his grave morning and evening for ever. Out of the balance thereof the executor should make expenditure according to his discretion in keeping the said *wakf* in good condition – and if anything remained over, the same should be given away to the poor of the said testator's *arham*."

Again, in *The Public Trustee v. Her Highness, The Sultana*,[5] Chief Justice Pickering of the High Court of the same Protectorate had to construe

[1] (1951) 2 Malay. L. R. 51, at p. 53.
[2] 17 C. W. N. 97 (P. C.) D.
[3] See p. 99, *supra*. [4] (1931) Zanzibar L. R., Vol. IV, p. 23. [5] (1930) 4 Zanzibar L. R. 14.

a gift in which the testator had "endeavoured to import English ideas and procedure into the manner in which he sought to make provisions for his children". The testator gave a sum of money to trustees on the condition that they should invest it and pay the interest so derived to "A for life and thereafter hand the capital sum over to such of A's children as should have attained the age of 18 years and, in the event of no child of A attaining that age, then to the brothers and sisters of A in equal shares". The learned Chief Justice held *in limine* that, on his view of the authorities cited to him by counsel, trusts are known in Mohammedan law. He then decided that the words of limitation did not constitute an immediate gift to A of the money handed to the co-trustee but that, where a completed transfer is made to trustees, a court administering Mohammedan law can and ought to give effect to the trust, or conditions attached to such transfer.

In all these cases the strict principles of English law would, however, be applied where the testator evinces a clear and unambiguous intention that his will in part or as a whole is to be governed by English law.

The same principle of holding valid all customary law practices that are otherwise lawful has been applied in such matters of indigenous tenure as *primogeniture* (i. e. succession to a man's land or land use by his eldest son alone), *ultimogeniture* (i.e. succession only by the youngest son), matrilineal inheritance, and the like: all of which are, however, institutions dying out by default and not as the result of any legislative disallowance of, or judicial frown upon, their observance.

Prescription under Customary Law

This is another aspect of customary law which in proper cases is usually upheld by colonial courts. As Osborne, C. J., put it in a Nigerian case:[1] "... it is a well-known principle of West African native law, acted on in the Courts of this Colony (i. e. Nigeria) and of the Gold Coast, that by strict native law there is no period of limitation of suits."

But, where laches and acquiescence for an unreasonable length of time could be established, the court might disallow the bringing of a stale claim even under customary law. Webber, J., put the point well enough in another Nigerian case when he said: "In our opinion it would be wholly inequitable to deprive the defendants of property of which they have had undisturbed possession and in respect of which they have collected rents for so long a term of years with the knowledge and acquiescence of those who now dispute their title ... We do not decide this point in accordance with any provision of English law as to the limitation of actions, but simply on the grounds of equity, on the ground that the court will not allow a party to call in aid principles of native law, and least of all principles which, as in this case, were developed in and are applicable to a state of society vastly different from that now existing, merely for the purpose of bolstering up a stale claim."[2]

The importance of this warning will become clear when it is borne in mind that customary law applies this rule of non-limitation of periods of suits in all sorts of situations; e. g., land pledged may be redeemed by several successors of the pledgor from those of the pledgee, actions for the recovery of debt under traditional modes of loan may be brought at any time by the creditor or lender, etc. Because of the inconvenience of this principle in certain modern situations, the courts ought to be vigilant that unjust or fraudulent appeals to customary law are not allowed to litigants who would sometimes have been disallowed even by traditional courts; for, customary law itself would frown upon the institution of proceedings where the complainant has slept too long upon his right.

Conclusion

Other instances could be given of the attitude of British-established colonial courts to the various recognized bodies of customary law. But sufficient

[1] (1931) 2 Nig. L. R. at p. 39.
[2] *Akpan Awo v. Cookey Gam* (1931) 2 N. L. R. 97, at p. 98.

indication has perhaps been given to enable the reader to have a glimpse of the general principles of policy underlying the administration of law and justice in the colonies.

It must, however, be remarked in closing that there are some problems of theory that should be mentioned in connexion with this broad question of the validity of customary law.

One is how to resolve the dilemma that judges cannot in theory modify English common law rules but can and do often modify those of customary law on the ground of repugnancy. Is customay law then *law* in the strict sense? The answer surely must depend on one's view of the nature of the judge's function generally; that is, on whether or not one holds that judges do make law. There can be little doubt nowadays that most jurists will agree to ascribe to judges a more creative role than would have been conceded to them a generation or two ago. If so, the greater powers of modification possessed by judges over customary rules than over English common law rules must surely be a matter of degree and not of kind. It is the state of flux in which customs are often to be found to-day that largely gives the judge a freer hand with them than with common law rules, which are far more fixed.

Since many customs change so fast under modern conditions, which ones are the courts to recognize – the old or the new? Where and when is the line to be drawn as between an alleged currency and obsolescence of particular customs? Some such considerations as these must have provoked this weighty remark of the Privy Council in *Amissah v. Krabah*:[1] "It would be very convenient if the courts in West Africa in suitable cases would rule as to the native customs of which they think it proper to take judicial notice, specifying of course the tribes (or districts) concerned and taking steps to see that these rulings are reported in a readily accessible form."

It remains to be said, however, that even if this were done, the limits of the validity of particular issues of customary law in a colony would still have to be determined in accordance with the principles enunciated earlier in this essay. These are themselves subject to modifications and amplifications which the courts do not often find it easy to make in their undoubtedly brave effort to realise social justice in the colonies.

[1] (1936) 2 W. A. C. A. 30, at p. 31.

NOTES ON THE MUNGONGI RITUAL OF THE BALOVALE TRIBES

C. M. N. WHITE *

SYNOPSIS

The mungongi *ritual of the Lunda, Luvale, Luchazi and Chokwe is the means of entry into an association which in the past discharged funerary duties. The account of the initiation here presented is believed to be the first to be published and earlier information on the* mungongi *and its role in society is critically examined. The initiated become* tudangu *whose different titles and activities are described and examples of their secret language are given both hitherto undocumented. The funerary role of the* tudangu *which is now rarely discharged is described and the virtually extinct* chiwila *association of women is related to the* mungongi *in this context. An attempt is made to explain why the funerary functions of the* tudangu *are becoming obsolete although initiation into the* mungongi *order is still relatively widespread.*

THE *mungongi* ritual occurs among the Lunda, Luvale, Luchazi and Chokwe, the latter calling it more often *zemba*. There are several reasons for presenting an account of it ; in the first place no satisfactory account has hitherto been given and the deficiencies of previous references to it are discussed below. Secondly the function of the rites is rapidly vanishing but, as with other rituals of these tribes, the rites are still valued for their own sake.

PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS

Carvalho (*Ethnographia e Historia Tradicional dos Povos da Lunda*, p. 448) confused the *mungongi* with the circumcision rites. Baumann (in *Baessler Archiv*, xv, 1, 1932, p. 50) and Delille (*Aequatoria*, vii, 2, 1944, pp. 49–55) give some further information but make the same mistake. The latter also suggested that the functions of the rites were to provide public amusement and social prestige. Plancquaert (*Les Sociétés secrètes chez les Bayaka*, pp. 13–49) describes somewhat similar rites known as *ngongi* among the Yaka of the Kwango ; he thought the object was to appease the spirits of the ancestors if they had shown displeasure to their living kin.

McCulloch (*The Southern Lunda and related peoples: Ethnographic Survey*, pp. 90–92, 1951) summarized earlier data and was able to include some preliminary data supplied by me which indicated the funerary connection of the rites. Finally Turner (*Lunda Rites and Ceremonies*, Occasional Papers of Rhodes Livingstone Museum No. 10, 1953, pp. 28–36) describes the funeral of a Lunda headman and refers to the role of the *tudangu ;* unfortunately his references to the *mungongi* ritual at pp. 32–33 are inaccurate as he supposes the ritual is part of the funerary rites, and there are various errors in his translations of vernacular terms.

INTRODUCTION

The derivation of the term *mungongi* is not known ; Plancquaert suggested connection with the Yaka *ngongo* which he translates as tomb ; this is possible but unproven. The origin of the rites is obscure. The Lunda say they originated from the female *chiwila* rites, the *mungongi* being confined to men. This story is reflected in the words of a chiwila song *mwetu mwetu ninswana-kayanda*

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(from out of our midst also came *nswana-kayanda*). The actual relationship of the *chiwila* to *mungongi* in contemporary rites throws doubt on this story.

Plancquaert records that the Yaka say that the rites came from Kola which he identifies with Angola. Those who have passed the rites and acquired the status of *tudangu* say that the *tudangu* come from Lwatembu. The latter is not identifiable as any single known place but occurs not infrequently as a river name. This may have some significance in another respect. *Kalunga* may be used for the grave and has a connection also with rivers and the sea (cf. White, *Afr. Studies*, vii, 1, 1948, pp. 29–35. "The Supreme Being in the Beliefs of the Balovale Tribes"). Since the *tudangu* are supposed not to be human but to be creatures having a special relationship with the world of the dead, their own statement that they come from a place which is a common river name accords well with the association of the world of the dead with rivers.

The passing of the rites is called *kuteta mungongi*, the verb meaning to cry out, because of the suffering endured at the rites. The present descriptive account of the *mungongi* rites is based on Lunda material ; the rites of the other tribes follow however a very similar general pattern and I have included Luvale equivalents for Lunda esoteric terms in various places. The choice of Lunda data for the descriptive part of the account is not only because my Lunda data is fullest but because also it is among the Lunda that the rites have retained to-day their greatest functional significance. In the latter part of the paper I discuss the role of the rites, their present-day decline and loss of function and the reasons why decay has occurred without at the same time resulting in the equally rapid simultaneous disappearance of the initiation into the *mungongi* order.

OFFICIALS AND TITLES OF THE MUNGONGI

In order for the rites to be held, an official known as *Samazembi* must preside ; he is in possession of a bundle (*nfunda*) of medicines which ensures the success of the rites. Such bundles are commonly inherited on the death of a *Samazembi*. Otherwise they may be obtained from one who is *Samazembi* by payment to him on the part of one who has passed through the rites and is fully conversant with the ritual. Turner thought that *Samazembi* was identical with the circumciser at the male puberty rites (l.c. p. 29) ; this was evidently an accident because in the case observed by him the officiant was also known to him as a circumciser. In any case *mbimbi* means merely one who circumcises and does not bear the connotation of Chief Circumciser given to it by Turner.

Any person who has passed through the rites becomes a *kadangu;* these *tudangu* are known initially as *tudangu twanyidi* or novice *tudangu;* they wear the leaves of a *mudi* tree (*Diplorrhynchus mossambicensis*) by which girls also undergo their fertility rites and which are symbolic of life and fertility. Thus they symbolize the continuance of the latter despite their close association and connection with death and the grave. In addition other specific titles of the *tudangu* exist; separate information is given below about these. In order to acquire any of these titles no further formalized initiation is required, but each has a tradition of his origin. The novice who seeks such a title must pay *Samazembi* or some other senior member of the association in order to obtain this information about the *kadangu* which he wishes to acquire. One man may acquire in this way several titles and appear as any of them on occasions where the *tudangu* emerge.

THE INITIATION RITUAL

When any of the uninitiated wish to be initiated they approach one with the status of *Samazembi*; they may taunt him that his bundle is torn and the contents scattered, or may present him with some white feathers. This is called "reviling *Samazembi*". It is noteworthy that a ritual stereotype is present here since the same type of approach is made to a circumciser prior to the male puberty rites. When this happens *Sama-*

zembi after calling other initiated members, goes in the evening and they put white feathers in the hair of any uninitiated persons ; the latter are *ntondu* or *chisongela* until after initiation. Then *Samazembi* and the initiated prepare the scene of the rites about half a mile from the village : a grass enclosure (*mayila*) is constructed and from it runs a scuffled path to the place where the fire for the candidates is lighted (*isaka* in Lunda, *kapango* in Luvale). In the morning *Samazembi* utters cries from the *mungongi* place, a sign that the preparations are being made, and known as *kusomba*, a term applied to all the special calling or summoning at the rites. Later in the day the candidates take firewood to the place of the rites. Certain persons already initiated are detailed as keepers of the candidates (*ayilombweji*). At night the latter wearing the emblems of whatever titled *kadangu* they represent come and take the candidates to the place of the rites and place them by the *isaka* which has not yet been lit. Each candidate is then questioned :

— What have you come for ?
— The porridge of *Nyebata* (or of *Nyalupanda* in Luvale).
— Do you mean your mother's porridge ?
— No, I have scorned that.
— Then come and see for yourself.

The clothes of the candidates are now removed and kept by their keepers. Then one of the senior members of the association utters the appropriate cries and one of the keepers or any other initiated person present goes to the *mayila* and brings fire to light the fire of the candidates *(isaka)*.

Now one of the officials called *mukinga* (the protector) takes up a place near the novices ; meanwhile another official, *nswana-kayanda* (the heir to suffering) has gone to the side and is uttering weird cries to call the *anyiyinda*[1] who are soon to appear to terrify the candidates. As *nswana-kayanda* draws near to the place where *mukinga* is, he cries out : "It is dark here." The keepers of the candidates retort : "No, it is light." After this has been repeated several times, *mukinga* leaps forward and there follows a mock quarrel between him and *nswana-kayanda*, the one crying out that it is dark and the other that it is light. When they have ceased, *nswana-kayanda* begins to cry out the names of deceased relatives of the candidates, saying that their living descendants are here. Then he bids the keepers to ask the novices which of them had said he would not be initiated in the rites in order to inspire them anew with fear of the unknown. After this *nswana-kayanda* again calls into the darkness to the *anyiyinda* and the latter respond with thin, reedy cries made by split grasses or reeds in their mouths. Of a sudden one of the *anyiyinda* appears and runs on all fours up the scuffled path ; he is naked and covered with white ashes and is called *chimbu*[2] (hyena). Now from either end of the path two columns of the *anyiyinda* begin to move and to pass one another about its middle. They are persons already initiated and are naked and rubbed with white ash and creep forward each close behind the other so that the separate individuals cannot be seen but each column looks like a long amorphous serpentine creature moving jerkily. After they have passed and repassed when they again meet in the middle, they leap to their feet and rush forward to seize the candidates, and drag them aside into the darkness where they pinch and gouge them between the thighs and on the back and buttocks and throw cold water over them. From time to time the keepers run after them and feign a struggle with the *anyiyinda* and bring back the candidates to their fire to rest. As the torturing of the novices is in progress the drums beat loudly, and when at intervals the drums cease the candidates are allowed a brief respite and the *anyiyinda* retire to the *mayila*. As the drums resume, they return to snatch and gouge the candidates again and the process continues on through the night.

During the intervals when the candidates are resting, other figures covered with white ash and walking on stilts flit up and down the scuffled path with ghostly movements to maintain the tension and fears of the candidates.

[1] *Yandanga* (in Luvale). [2] *mugule* (in Luvale).

The *anyiyinda* are said to be the dead returned in earthly form and they are also sometimes referred to as *eni kalunga* (the owners of the world of the dead).

Just before dawn, the candidates are taken in the dark to the village of *Samazembi*, nearby, and the latter again calls and the *anyiyinda* come and again gouge their victims. At their cries the wife of *Samazembi* awakes and standing in the doorway of her house and unable to see anything in the dark she asks why they are crying out ; they reply that they do not know. The tortures of the *mungongi* are now over and the candidates are taken to the nearest stream to wash ; on their way they find the *anyiyinda* lying in pairs across the path ; the candidates have to jump over them and are said to have jumped over the dead. Then all return to the place of the rites and dress and warm themselves by the fire.

Each of the candidates is now called up to the *mayila* where a drum is projecting from the grass and being tapped from within. On the outside round it is a noose and each candidate is told to tie it quickly ; he pulls the ends and nothing happens except that the slip knot is pulled tight. This is called *ku'a isengi* (trapping an elephant shrew) and everyone laughs. Each is now bidden to push his hand through the wall of the *mayila* to receive the porridge of *Nyebata* ; when he does so, his wrist is seized within and held whilst he is asked why he does not withdraw his hand. The candidates now return to their *isaka* and *nswana-kayanda* comes and asks them : "What is my name ?" They reply with his title and he says : "No, my real name." When they give his real name, he says they have transgressed by calling a *kadangu* by his earthly name and will die unless they can mention a relative to redeem them. They do so and he laughs and says it is all a joke. Food is now brought from the village ; then each candidate is given an *ilengi* staff surmounted with white feathers and they go together to the village; now follow two days of dancing with the newly initiated sleeping in an enclosure *(ilumbi)* and not in their own houses ; finally they disperse among the surrounding villages dressed with *mudi* leaves on their heads and their staffs ; they are *tudangu twanyidi* now and people give them presents wherever they go. The initiation is over.

THE TUDANGU

I know of eighteen specific titles of the *tudangu* but there may be additional ones of which I have no record. Of these the one known as *mukinga* (the protector) ranks as most senior and as can be seen from his role in the initiation ritual described above he is the protector of the candidates from the powers of the grave and is referred to as being white when the leader of the ghostly *anyiyinda* proclaims that all is dark. The *tudangu* are sometimes referred to as those who live in the *nganda* (capital) of *mukinga.*

Nswana-kayanda (heir to suffering) is leader of the ghosts who torture the candidates but finally reveals himself as harmless when he jests with the candidates at the close of the initiation rites.

Kateeti (warbler or cutter – a play on words) wears a tuft of warbler feathers and is responsible for clearing the site of the rites (i.e. cutting away the bushes and undergrowth).

Chinchololu Sakudila is the mourner and typifies the funeral duties of the members of the association.

Chinkoka wanda wachala appears like an ordinary person but has a cord with a tuft of feathers tied to his toe and at a funeral anyone who steps over it by mistake must pay him a forfeit.

Chinkanza muhosha untu (speaks like a human) likewise wears no distinctive insignia and does not use the esoteric language of the *tudangu;* hence he may be addressed inadvertently and whoever does so is liable to pay a forfeit since the *tudangu* must not be spoken to by common persons on funerary occasions.

Yikongolu is striped with red and white stripes from nostrils to feet ; he represents a rainbow and by implication death, since a rainbow is believed to be dangerous and able to enter the nostrils of a person and draw off his breath and life.

Kadangu kamashika – the *kadangu* of the cold – stands apart from the rest making moaning sounds at a funeral ; he represents the loneliness and coldness of death as contrasted with the warmth and company of life.

Nduwa (lourie) wears a red wing feather of a loury and is symbolic of death.

I list for completeness the names of the others whose symbolism is less clear.

mucheeka who wears a calabash adorned with red and white clay.

nyikalu-yampeza who is spotted with ashes and said to represent the ghostly *anyiyinda* who do not appear at funerals.

chikungga who wears a feathered headdress.

kasoloka who appears suddenly and keeps reserved and apart.

chimbangala who wears a coronet of guinea fowl feathers.

chisumpa (leopard) referred as representing hunting. Possibly typifying a society which hunters played originally an important role.

dimbǫndu (pelican) typifying fishing, possibly the symbol of the role of fishermen in a collecting economy.

kanangampemba (egret) who wears white egret feathers.

mukonka (vulva).

The *tudangu* appear on only two occasions – the holding of the initiation rites of the society and on occasions of a funeral. As pointed out above membership of the society carries with it the automatic status of being a *kadangu*.[1]

THE SPECIAL LANGUAGE OF THE TUDANGU

Characteristic of the *tudangu* is a special language used by them in public ; they are not human but merely of human form, they say, and to stress this they do not speak as other men. In the following columns are given some examples of this language together with normal Lunda equivalents and English translation.

ESOTERIC LANGUAGE	LUNDA	ENGLISH
suwenu	*twayenu*	come here
mampeu	*lufuchi*	quickly
–bwechama	*–shakama*	sit
–bongama	*–kaama*	sleep
mantela	*meji*	water
chipila	*nshima*	porridge
manvundu	*walwa*	beer
kancheki	*kasolu*	honey beer
mayimbi	*mumbanda*	woman
kayaluki	*iyala*	man
wabindumuka chawahuka	*wahinduka chiwahi*	are you well ?
wabindumuka bonyi	*wahinduka ngahi*	how are you ?
mwanandenda	*mwana*	child
mulasu	*mpoku*	knife
muwawa	*kawa*	dog
mukulundundu	*mukulumpi*	elder
nzaji	*ngoma*	drum
chimbuyi	*nseu*	arrow
–keketa	*–seha*	laugh
mulundu	*mulonga*	case or crime
njimbu	*itala*	house

In one or two instances the esoteric language appears to be mere substitution of words ; thus – *keketa* in Lunda means "cackle" and is here

[1] Turner erroneously translates *kadangu kamashika* as the *kadangu* of malaria ! *mashika* is applied to malaria because of shivering but the meaning in this case is the wider one as explained above. Turner's other two *tudangu* are given names which are not strictly their technical names but merely descriptive ; the one he refers to as *kakusomeka* which is merely a reference to the inserted feather in the hair ; his translation "of escaping from traps" is quite wrong and presumably a confusion with *kusomoka*. He also mentions one as *kansala* of which he says "meaning unknown"; *nsala* means a crest and refers to the feather coronet mentioned by him. I take the opportunity here to correct a further translation error of Turner at p. 29 of his paper where he renders *mpangu yamungongi* as "literally enclosure of *mungongi*". This is a confusion with *chipangu* (fence or enclosure) and *mpangu* means the ritual riddles and conundrums applied to the candidates.

used for "laugh" ; *muwawa* contains a reduplication of the stem of *kawa*. Most others however bear no obvious relation to any words in Lunda or related languages.

THE FUNERARY ROLE OF THE MEMBERS

Among the Lunda at least, in the past, the *tudangu* discharged a funerary role on the occasion of the death of a member. Latterly it appears that these duties have become less frequent and only occur at the death of a chief, an important village head or one holding the office of *Samazembi*. Among the Luvale the *tudangu* seem always only to have appeared on funerary occasions on the death of the last mentioned important persons. This may be related to the fact that the rites are of Lunda origin from the Congo basin, and that Lunda acculturation of the Luvale was by tradition confined to the establishment of Lunda chiefly dynasties over acephalous people. (Cf. White, *The Balovale Peoples and their Historical Background*, Human Problems in British Central Africa, 7, 1949, pp. 26–41.) These dynasties have among the Luvale been almost completely absorbed so that no centralized political structure now survives. Among the Lunda until comparatively recently on the death of an initiated member, another member residing in the village took his rattle carried by the *tudangu* and went through surrounding villages announcing the death in the special language of the *tudangu*. Other members assembled and retired to array themselves in their several insignia of the various *tudangu*. They then passed singing round the hut of the deceased and finally entered it to pass the night there singing and lamenting. I here correct an error in Turner (p. 29) where he refers to *izembi* as the name for a dead person's hut. The latter is known as *chizumbwa* or *mbozo* ; the use of *izembi* to apply to it arises from the fact that the *izembi* is the ritual enclosure of the *tudangu* at the *mungongi* initiation, and since the *tudangu* stay in the hut of the deceased, *izembi* may at that time be applied to it. The *tudangu* wash the body of the deceased, prepare the bier, often help the grave diggers, arrange the body in the grave. I refer the reader to Turner, pp. 30–31, for a recent burial of a headman.

On the way from the grave the *tudangu* collect some twining creepers known as *lukusakusa* said to symbolize intestines ; *nkumba*, a fungus which grows on *mubanga* trees and is symbolic of the heart of the deceased ; a stick eaten out by termites and coated with earth, which represents the travels of the dead man ; some chips of wood representing his nails ; at the village they take a burnt ember of firewood, symbolic of his fire ; they add some pieces of a thin grass which grows in water and symbolizes his hair. These are called the *mpangu* of the enclosure of the *tudangu*. The relatives of the deceased now give the *tudangu* a fowl as the price for their next action. They then take the roof off the house of the deceased and use it to cover an enclosure in which they sit. Inside are kept the symbolic objects listed above ; a stranger must pay his respects to the *tudangu* who question him about these symbols, and if he cannot explain them, he must pay a forfeit. During the following days the *tudangu* lead in the mourning and sing songs of lamentation. Finally they dismantle their *izembi*, pull down the remains of the house of the deceased and burn them. During the days of mourning the *tudangu* also extract forfeits from people who break any of their rules. Thus a woman who passes with a load on her head, anyone who inadvertently crosses the cord of *chinkoka* or who speaks to *chinkanza*, will be fined. Despite the dominant position which the *tudangu* enjoy at the time of mourning there are certain things which they avoid. They will run from a pregnant woman and make no attempt to fine her and they flee precipitately from an *ikishi* masker. On the other hand they are exempt from the usual mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. An uncircumcized child or grown up may laugh at the *tudangu* with impunity, for they say that he is a child and irresponsible.

The traditional explanation of the role of the *tudangu* is typical of many so-called funerary friendships. They say that the close relatives of

the dead are too overcome with grief to carry out these duties ; on the other hand complete strangers might remove parts of the dead body to use for magical purposes. However this may have been, it no longer seems to apply to-day, for relatives now seem to be less unwilling to bury their dead than in the past. Turner also noted that they helped in the burial. Turner claims that the *tudangu* had the duty of preventing the dead from returning to trouble his relatives. If this were so one might expect to see the funerary rites still persisting more widely ; but the duty of appeasing an ancestral spirit falls upon the deceased's matrilineal kinsmen who have to make offerings to him from time to time, and the activities of outsiders would not in any case be effective to this end. The further suggestion that the *tudangu* have a duty to instil respect into young boys for their elders seems to me to be no part of their functions. This seems to have arisen from the idea that the *mungongi* ritual is connected with the male puberty rites, which is not the case.

The devotion of the *tudangu* to the last obsequies of a fellow member often so moves the uninitiated that after the mourning is over they may come and ask for a *mungongi* initiation to be held in order that they may join the society. Turner claims that at the funeral seen by him the initiation was performed nightly during the period of the mourning. If this really took place it was most unusual and needs further confirmation.

Despite the fact that the actions of the *tudangu* at a funeral thus influence many to join the *mungongi* brotherhood, other sanctions are applied. The uninitiated is taunted for having four eyes, people say that to eat with him makes the food insipid ; he is taunted with sleeping with his mother or sisters and accused of leaving heaps of excreta like a civet cat, to which both he and his female relatives repeatedly go to excrete. On the other hand the initiated is said to excrete gunpowder which leaves no trace.

It will be convenient to allude here to the female counterpart of the *mungongi* initiation, known as *chiwila* and briefly mentioned earlier in this paper. The *chiwila* initiation rites appear to have virtually disappeared in these areas of Northern Rhodesia ; at them a woman was initiated by other women. The main results of them in the past appear to have been that an initiated woman would receive the help of the *tudangu* at her funeral. In addition, women who broke the rules of the *tudangu*, such as carrying a load on the head or crossing the string of *chinkoka*, were exempt from paying a forfeit. Turner (p. 36) suggests that the *tudangu* assert male authority over women in that they could fine women for breaches of certain rules. This seems to me questionable, since a woman could obtain immunity if she had passed the *chiwila* rites, and in any case males also who break various rules were liable to pay forfeits.

During their period of activity at the mourning, the *tudangu* help themselves to chickens or small stock in the surrounding villages as their perquisites for the duties they discharge on behalf of society.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE INITIATION RITES

It was considered that before persons could undertake the funeral duties which the *tudangu* perform, it was necessary for them to enter into a mystical communion with the world of the dead and the initiation rites provided this requisite. This was designed to remove their fears that evil emanations from the dead might adversely affect them. The ghosts of the dead, identified with the dead ancestors of the candidates and represented by the *anyiyinda* attack and torment them. But *mukinga* the protector is there and identified with light and not with darkness ; he sees that the ghosts do not prevail, and the fully fledged *tudangu* are said to dwell in his village. Those who have passed the rites become something more than merely human; hence the *tudangu* must not be spoken to by the uninitiated ; they themselves stress that they only look like humans and emphasize this by a ritual language. Thus the *mungongi* association was essentially a fune-

rary association with, in the past, a specific role in the social life of those who had it in their midst.

THE DECLINE OF THE MUNGONGI

Two features strike the observer of the *mungongi* association at the present day. One is the very great decline in the functional aspect of it whereby the *tudangu* perform their duties; the other is the proportionately much smaller decline in the initiation ritual. In other words the ritual still persists as an initiation into an association which is quickly ceasing to be functional.

The reasons for the decline in the functions of the *tudangu* may well be numerous; for instance to-day the economic basis of life in money limits the time which can be spent on mourning, and the protracted *chipenji* of the past is therefore rarely seen. Hence the *tudangu* have less scope to play their role. Again in the past the exactions of the *tudangu* in helping themselves to food and extracting forfeits were on no small scale, and it is commonly remarked by people that they would not to-day put up with such conduct every time there was a funeral. Hence the *tudangu* would get much less out of their activities than in the past. In this connection the Luvale aphorism is relevant. *Chilika mukanda, mungongi kalilo:* the male circumcision rites are a solemn obligation, the *mungongi* a means or occasion for extracting goods.

The fact that the funerary duties of the *tudangu* have so extensively declined induces me to doubt Turner's hypothesis that their duty was primarily to ward off the shade of the deceased. It is true that under modern conditions a type of agnosticism about the old supernatural world has become relatively wide-spread among these tribes; but it is more often than not of a superficial nature, and it is almost unbelievable that it has permeated so deeply that the *tudangu* are out of a job because people *en masse* no longer fear the ghosts of the dead.

In addition I have drawn attention to the possibility that the *mungongi* was a cultural derivation from the Congo basin (where it is reported among Mwachiamvwa's Lunda and the Yaka); as such it was brought south when the Lunda migrants came and established their political and dynastic control over other people. Since then the old culture of the original people has tended to reassert itself with a progressive decline in the reality of centralized political control, and as the earlier Lunda culture becomes more and more submerged, so various characteristics of it decline in value or acceptance. If this is so these people got on without any *tudangu* funerary association before the Lunda "kings" brought it in, and are reverting to the past. It is significant that originally all these tribes merelg put corpses in trees and did not bury them. Yet the actual initiation rites continue to be held especially in the Balovale and Kabompo districts, and they have declined much less than the functions of the *tudangu*. This accords well with the pattern of other rituals among these tribes. I have already shown how ritual is clung to for its own sake in the female puberty rites (*Africa*, 1953, pp. 15–23) and in the exorcisms of *mahamba* rites (*Africa*, 1949, pp. 324–31). In both cases the early significance of the ritual has changed widely and to some extent one might say that these rituals no longer fulfil the role in society which they once discharged. So too with the *mungongi* rites. They serve to provide a bond outside the limits of kinship which bind people together in the same way as the male circumcision rites or blood friendships do; they provide occasions on which people otherwise unrelated may get together. Like the circumcision rites they provide a special bond among the tribes practising *mungongi* which places them in contrast to tribes without *mungongi*. The officials of the initiation, too, can still look forward to some material or financial gains for their services in initiating new candidates. Finally there still arise occasions when the death of a person sufficiently important necessitates the *tudangu* to perform their traditional duties.

The virtually complete disappearance of the female *chiwila* rites in contrast with the continuance of the male *mungongi* initiation is note-

worthy. Women are particularly well catered for in the field of ritual, since so many of the *mahamba* exorcisms affect them, whilst their only gain from *chiwila* was exemption from the forfeits exacted by the *tudangu* which are in any case now of rare occurance. If this is so, it would seem that the lives of women have their fill of ritual without the persistence of the *chiwila*. With men, however, it is otherwise ; their lives have changed much more. The hunting which filled an important place in it is much reduced ; the raids of their neighbours which occupied their time in attack or defence are a thing of the past; the Ovimbundu caravans coming through with salt, gunpowder, cloth, beads, and guns to exchange for slaves, have vanished. The economic bases of life are relatively easy with cash crops at home and other employment provided by industry a little further afield. The old kinship structure of a unilateral matrilineal descent group has declined with the new moneyed economy. Thus these rituals even if they have almost ceased to be functional, provide something which fills a gap in life.

SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF HERERO LIFE[1]

GUNTER WAGNER*

I

THE VIEW is commonly held, both among social anthropologists and among colonial administrators, that pastoral people are characterized by an inherent conservatism. As far as African pastoralists are concerned, this view may be summed up by the following quotation from Lord Hailey's *An African Survey*: "The attachment of these people to their own institutions, and their indifference to European influences, has been marked; they prefer their cattle to traders' goods, and the stimulus of money has not induced the pastoralists either to take to agriculture or to send their young men to work in any numbers."[2]

Professor John L. Myres, in a study on Nomadism, has drawn attention to the unique nature of the interdependence which pure pastoralism has developed between man and beast: "Such a society must, at all costs, keep its cattle healthy and safe, and in this respect it may be said that it is the animals that have domesticated Man. At all events, under the special conditions of strictly nomad existence, the men and the animals are co-partners, and this peculiar syntrophy or 'maintenance-in-common' profoundly influences the human as well as the animal members of such a group. Neither partner in this composite mode of life (syntrophy) can maintain itself apart from the other . . . It is this peculiarity of mutual dependence which distinguishes nomadism from other associations of men with natural resources, such as plant-crops."[3]

Prof. Myres would thus attribute the "inherent conservatism" of pastoral tribes to the close bond which among these people exists between themselves and their natural resources. The deep sentimental attachment which pastoralists have for their cattle and which derives from their *mutual* dependence would also explain the close association between the religious systems of most pastoral tribes and their cattle, though it may be debatable whether one is entitled to speak of cattle-worship except in those cases where cattle have actually become deities, as in India.[4]

In a discussion of pastoralism in Africa, Prof. Thurnwald also speaks of the highly specialized type of culture which pastoralism produces and of its particularly close association with ritual: "The absolute one-sidedness of these cattle herds, whose whole existence centred in the production of milk, led to their devoting themselves exclusively to the ritual of their dogma, so that in spite of their natural gifts and skill they neglected all practical activities, especially handicrafts."[5]

A high degree of specialization (one-sidedness) with all the emotional and other conditioned attitudes which it entails, usually goes hand-in-hand with a lack of adaptability. The sentimental (quasi- or genuinely religious) attitude towards cattle would thus appear only as one aspect of this specialization, and we would not necessarily have to be able to show that a pastoral people has an explicit cattle cult to account for its conservatism.

* The late Dr. Günter Wagner, at the time of his death in August, 1952, was on the staff of the Ethnological Division, Department of Native Affairs, South Africa, and was doing anthropological field-work on behalf of the South West African Administration.

[1] This paper was first published in *Sociologus* (Berlin), 2, 1, 1952, under the title "Aspects of Conservatism and Adaptation in the Economic Life of the Herero". We are grateful to the editor of *Sociologus* for permission to reprint it.

[2] Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, London, 1939, p. 29. For a survey of African cattle tribes see Herkovits, M. J., "The cattle complex in East Africa", *American Anthropologist*, n. s., vol. 28 (1926), p. 248 *seq.*

[3] Myres, John L., "Nomadism", *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. 71 (1941), p. 20.

[4] Cf. Herkovits, M. J., "The culture areas of Africa", *Africa*, vol. 3 (1930), p. 70.

[5] Thurnwald, R., "Social systems of Africa", *Africa*, vol. 2 (1929), p. 358.

II

The Herero as an exclusively pastoral people form a highly relevant subject for the study of the conservatism of pastoral tribes. Though we can form only a hypothetical view of their early history, it appears from their cultural affiliations with the Eastern Hamites [1] that their pastoralism has a long tradition behind it. In the course of their migrations through the African continent they have persistently clung to the pastoral mode of life although they have adopted the language of agricultural Bantu and in their physical features show a somewhat greater admixture of negro blood than the Eastern or Western Hamites.

From the middle of the 19th century onwards, the Herero were exposed to an ever increasing measure of European influences. These began with the establishment of the first mission stations in Hereroland in 1844[2] and the advent of the early travellers, hunters and traders who followed in the wake of the Mission. From the contemporary accounts both of the early travellers and the missionaries we can gain a detailed picture of the successive stages of culture contact through which the Herero passed during the latter half of the 19th century. They show us in particular how, despite the repeated and severe depletion which their herds suffered during their prolonged wars with the Hottentots, the Herero displayed a proverbial skill in replenishing their herds after every major catastrophe. In this respect they appear to have been markedly superior to the Hottentots who relied more on raids than on their own skill in animal husbandry.

The recent history of the Herero, from the beginning of the present century onwards, is particularly relevant to our problem. The Herero-German war (1904–6) ended with the complete outward destruction of the Herero's traditional mode of life. As a direct result of the war, they were reduced to about 20 per cent of their former population. They lost all their stock and, besides, were deprived of the right to keep anything but a limited number of goats and sheep.[3] After their release from internment camps, the men had to earn their living by working for Europeans, either on farms or in towns. Though the restrictions imposed upon them were alleviated before the outbreak of the first world war, it was only when the Herero reserves were established in 1923–4 that a major portion of the tribe could gradually resume its pastoral mode of life.

In the political sphere, the Herero war had not only resulted in the loss of their tribal system of government, but most of the former leaders and sub-leaders of the tribe had ceased to exist. The paramount chief, Samuel Maharero, who, together with some 2,000 tribesmen, had succeeded in crossing the waterless tracts of the Kalahari to Bechuanaland where he placed himself under the protection of a Tswana chief,[4] lived in exile until the end of his life (1923), while the greater number of the minor chiefs and leaders had either been killed in the war, had died of thirst in the Sandveld, or were executed for having joined the rebellion.

The disruption of the social life of the Herero was equally complete. Life histories collected by the present writer from a number of elderly Herero indicate that for many years after the war the majority of tribesmen were not able to maintain regular and close contacts with their kindred. It may therefore be assumed that the complex system of rights and duties which under traditional conditions had linked the individual to both his patrilineal and matrilineal kin and which operated especially in connection with religious customs, marriage and inheritance, was more or less completely suspended.

It will therefore be seen that the forces of detribalization to which the remnants of the Herero tribe were exposed from the time after the Herero war until the establishment of the reserves could have been hardly more drastic.

[1] Cf. Brauer, E., *Züge aus der Religion der Herero*, Leipzig 1925.

[2] Cf. Driessler, H., *Die Rheinische Mission in Südwestafrika*, Gütersloh, 1932, p. 49 *seq.*

[3] Cf. Driessler, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

[4] Cf. Schapera, I., *Notes on Some Herero genealogies*, Communications from the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 1945.

III

This historical background has to be taken into consideration in interpreting any symptoms of conservatism on the one hand and of adaptation on the other which we may detect in the present-day economic life of the Herero.

At this juncture a few theoretical points must be made. Conservatism and adaptation appear as two opposite reactions of a society to culture contact. They do not, however, exhaust the range of possible reactions; there is yet a third possibility, viz. cultural disintegration. In analyzing actual processes of culture contact we will, as a rule, encounter the combined presence of all three types of reaction in varying degrees.

Again, a closer analysis of cultural adaptation will reveal that it is always a process of re-integration. That is to say, adaptation must be preceded by at least a partial disintegration in that sphere of the old order where the adaptation, which consists in a synthesis of the old and the new, takes place. This is true even in cases where adaptation is achieved with comparative ease so that no intervening phase of strain can be discerned. For where the impact of contact forces causes no disintegration, where it effects no breach in the old order upsetting its equilibrium to a greater or smaller extent, the reaction must be that of conservatism.[1]

Where, on the other hand, disintegration is complete, the result will be loss of culture. Any new order that may emerge, will not be the result of adaptation or re-integration but a new growth. Owing to the principle of the continuity of cultural life, the last-mentioned process will be a very rare form of cultural change.

Conservatism and adaptation are, of course, cultural reactions which can not, or only to a limited extent, be prevented or brought about by outside pressure. Where, for instance, a political, social and economic system is smashed by force as was that of the Herero, this does not necessarily prevent a conservative cultural attitude from maintaining itself over a long period of time, even in the face of adverse outward conditions. Similarly, adaptation must come from within; it is a response which a culture must achieve by itself. It can never be effected from outside though conditions favourable to its achievement may be created.

We shall now examine recent trends in the economic life of the Herero with a view to ascertaining in how far they still show the same tendency towards a conservative attitude that has been observed among other pastoral tribes of Africa, and in how far the Herero have achieved, or show signs of achieving, a successful adaptation to the changed conditions under which they have to live to-day.

First, we must briefly indicate in what direction economic conservatism on the one hand and successful adaptation on the other would have to be sought for. Under traditional conditions, the pastoral activities of the Herero derived only partly from economic motives, viz. to provide milk, their principal diet. A very powerful incentive behind their efforts was the desire to acquire prestige and social status by owning as large a number of beasts as possible. As among most pastoral tribes of Africa, quantity counted for more than quality. Thus, the authority of an *omuhona* (chief) was determined less by the number of his followers than by the size of his herds. To rear large herds of cattle was also part of the religious duties of a kraal head. Not only were numerous beasts, especially oxen, consecrated to the ancestors, but the individual stock-owner was, in a sense, merely trustee of the cattle; the actual ownership being vested partly in his patriclan (*oruzo*) and partly in his matriclan (*eanda*). Hence he was responsible to his ancestors for the proper care and augmentation of the herds entrusted to him. Further, the traditional Herero's efforts at breeding cattle were not directed towards increasing the milk yield or the weight of their cattle but towards obtaining animals of a particular colour or with horns of particular shape in accordance with the dictates of the (totemic) *oruzo* rules. It follows that in the traditional system of values which prevailed in Herero society the accumulation of cattle was the

[1] The only exception would be the assimilation of new features which fit perfectly into the existing structure.

principal object in the life of the individual and the community. No real value was attached to other material possessions. In fact, in view of the close bond between man and his cattle (cf. Prof. Myres), the latter were more than just a material possession. Basically, this attitude prevailed until the Herero war. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Herero, once traders had begun to come to their country (from 1850 onwards), were far more willing to exchange cattle for other goods than are other pastoral tribes, such as the Masai[1] or the Fulani,[2] even to-day. There are, however, special historical reasons for this which will be discussed later.

When the Herero were allowed to resume a pastoral life in the reserves established for them, it was obvious that a fundamental change both in their incentives for and in their methods of cattle keeping had to be brought about if they were to thrive, or even to survive, under modern conditions. A simple consideration will show why such a change was imperative: if the Herero were to cling tenaciously to their traditional attitudes as sketched in the preceding paragraph, their herds would soon increase out of all proportion, as the former checks, such as periodical droughts, epidemic stock diseases, and enemy raids either operate no longer or only on a much smaller scale.[3] Being confined to the reserves established for them, they could not expand their grazing areas to keep pace with the unchecked increase of their herds. As a result, the existing reserves would soon all become dangerously overstocked ; the grazing would rapidly deteriorate, and so would the condition of their stock.

Such a tendency is, in fact, one of the cardinal problems encountered among all pastoral tribes who live in reserves,[4] and it endangers the very existence of these tribes even where the reserves as such, if managed economically, are large enough to support not only the present but a growing population.[5] There is ample evidence that such a tendency did, and to some extent still does, exist also among the Herero: as soon as the drastic restrictions imposed on their pastoral activities after the Herero war were raised, they displayed their traditional energy and skill in accumulating stock. Thus Driessler in his *History of the Rhenish Mission* writes: "Die Herero verstanden es übrigens als geborene Viehzüchter, nach der Auflockerung der Gesetze über Viehhaltung der Eingeborenen bald wieder zu grösseren Herden zu kommen. Die Farmer stellten mit Vorliebe Herero als Viehhirten an. Diese forderten das Recht, einige Stück eigenes Kleinvieh zu ihrem Unterhalt halten zu dürfen. Nach wenigen Jahren stellte es sich dann heraus, dass die Herden der Hirten an Zahl fast ebenso gross waren, als die der Farmer. Da dies für die Farmen besonders in Zeiten der Dürre nicht tragbar war, entliessen die Farmer später, als die Hereroreservate gegründet wurden, ihre allzu tüchtigen Hererohirten und stellten dafür Ovambo ein."[6]

After the establishment of the reserves, this tendency naturally increased as is shown by frequent references to this effect in the annual reports of the Welfare Officers who administer Native affairs in the various reserves. To quote but one typical passage: "The Herero will make no effort to limit the number of stock they own and the inevitable result is going to be overstocking, destruction of grazing and eventual ruin to the whole tribe. This has been pointed out to them many times but they will not listen."[7]

The fundamentally different attitudes displayed by the Herero as pastoralists of long stand-

[1] James, L., "The Kenya Masai, a nomadic people under modern administration", *Africa*, vol. 12 (1939), p. 49 *seq.*; also Huxley, Elspeth, *The sorcerer's apprentice* (*a journey through East Africa*), London, 1948, p. 96.

[2] Croix, F. W. de Dt., *The Fulani of Northern Nigeria*, Lagos (Government Printer, 894/43/250), 1944, p. 15.

[3] To-day, the Natives no longer depend exclusively on surface water as boreholes have been sunk in all reserves. The incidence of stock diseases has been greatly reduced through the inoculation of cattle, cf. note 14.

[4] Cf. *Report of the Kenya Land Commission*, 1932, par. 34. Also: *Native Economic Commission, Report of the*: Cmd. 4556, 1934, par. 1989.

[5] In South West Africa the population potential of a Reserve depends on three major factors, viz. (a) the extent to which surface water can be supplemented through the sinking of boreholes or preserved by the construction of dams, (b) on proper veld management and (c) on the extent to which the quality of the stock can be improved.

[6] Driessler, H., *op. cit.*; p. 208.

[7] Annual Report (1942) of Welfare Officer, Waterberg East Native Reserve (unpublished).

ing and the Bergdama as traditional hunters and foodgatherers are clearly demonstrated by quoting from the annual report (1950) of the Welfare Officer, Otjimbingue Native Reserve: "The prosperity of the Herero is very marked in this Reserve, and they are to be admired for their efforts to increase their stock. With cream monies they purchased stock on neighbouring farms, whereas the Bergdama spends all the money as soon as he receives same although being advised to the contrary."

In 1951, Otjimbingue Reserve was inhabited by 544 Herero (112 families) and 504 Bergdama (101 families) as well as by a few Coloureds and Hottentots. Although both Herero and Bergdama have been living in that Reserve under the same outward conditions for many decades,[1] the Herero, in 1951, owned a total of 3,100 head of cattle and the Bergdama less than 700. This, although the Bergdama even had an initial advantage as, in recognition of their loyalty towards the Germans during the Herero war, they were never prohibited from keeping large stock.

The increase in cattle in Otjimbingue Reserve during the last six years will be seen from the following figures:

Year	*No. of cattle*
1946	1,644
1947	1,776
1948	1,835
1949	2,655
1950	3,844
1951	4,268

In this particular case the rapid growth of herds was not viewed with apprehension by the Administration (cf. the favourable comment of the Welfare Officer as compared with the quotation in the preceding paragraph) as the drought of 1946 had caused severe stock losses and as the water supply of the Reserve could meanwhile be substantially improved. The above figures demonstrate the undiminished ability of the Herero to recuperate from setbacks and the persistent nature of their incentive to accumulate stock. The increase is even more impressive when it is taken into consideration that during the last three years 727 head of large stock were sold in Otjimbingue, the respective percentages being 4.1 per cent, 5.3 per cent and 8.4 per cent of the total cattle.

The preceding discussion must suffice to indicate in what direction economic conservatism lies. The change or adaptation to be aimed at, on the other hand, will have to be along the following lines:

(1) Limitation of the number of stock kept.
(2) Improvement of the quality of stock, partly through the elimination of uneconomic cattle and partly through the breeding of better strains.
(3) Better economic utilization of the stock through introducing a ranching or dairying economy or a combination of both.
(4) Creation of new material wants and needs which would act as an incentive to a growing "economic utilization" of the cattle and thus supplant the traditional socio-religious outlook.

It will be seen that the last-mentioned point is the clue for the other three, for without such a change in outlook the Herero would have no reason to co-operate in bringing about the changes mentioned under (1) to (3).

IV

In order to attain the aims set forth above and to assist the Herero in adjusting themselves to a manner of stock-farming which is compatible with the present-day conditions under which they have to live in the reserves, the Government has introduced a number of innovations. The most important of these are:

(1) The imposition of a maximum limit to large and small stock which may be kept by a brand-owner. The limit is adjusted to the grazing conditions and the water supply and

[1] Though proclaimed a reserve only in 1923, Otjimbingue has *de facto* been a reserved area for both Herero and Bergdama since the Rhenish Mission established a station there in 1849.

varies for different reserves and for different periods, but 100 head of large stock and 300 head of small stock per brand-owner seems to be the standard.

(2) Organized stock sales in the reserves to supplement individual sales of stock to speculators and neighbouring farmers.

(3) The purchase of suitable bulls from Trust Funds, i.e. funds accrueing from the collection of grazing fees, the only form of direct taxation levied from Natives in S. W. A.

(4) The provision of phosphates, etc. and the encouragement of their use by the Native stock-owners.

(5) The imposition of graded grazing fees, the idea being to levy a higher tax on economically undesirable beasts such as scrub bulls, oxen over a certain age or in excess of a certain number, donkey jacks, etc.

(6) The organization of so-called cream schemes, i.e. the setting up of dairies in the reserves and the organization of a regular transport of the cream produced in each reserve to the nearest creamery.

(7) The purchase of vaccines from Trust Fund money and the regular inoculation of stock against contagious (notifiable) stock-diseases as well as the encouragement of Natives to buy their own vaccines for inoculation against non-contagious and deficiency diseases.

(8) As a measure of control, the compulsory branding of stock.

Of these measures, only Nos. 1, 5, 8 and the first part of 7 are compulsory. The above-listed measures and innovations were, of course, not introduced all at once nor were efforts in the various directions made with equal intensity in all the reserves. Moreover, local conditions and special circumstances, such as droughts, the outbreak of stock diseases, etc., temporarily checked or slowed down the process of adjustment. It would indeed require a very detailed and widely ramified study of the recent economic history of the different reserves to be able to compare the various stages of the process and to interpret them in terms of the levels of adjustment reached. A mere comparison of statistical evidence would be very inconclusive.

For the purposes of the present paper it will have to suffice to say that the present trend in Herero stock farming is the result of approximately twenty years of planned guidance along definite lines. What this trend is can be indicated only in broad outline and by referring to the most salient features.

Let us, first of all, consider to what extent the Herero to-day are prepared to sell their surplus stock. For the years 1949 and 1950 the position is reflected by the following table showing for six out of the seven Herero reserves in the Territory (a) the number of cattle sold during the year and (b) the cattle population at the end of the year:

Name of Reserve	*1949*		*1950*	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
Aminuis.....	648	13,528	519	12,733
Epukiro.....	723	16,874	1,230	20,650
Otjimbingue.....	114	2,655	218	3,844
Otjituo	565	10,780	796	13,446
Ovitoto	1,176	9,841	853	12,523
Waterberg East ..	1,137	35,400	2,215	39,098
Totals:	4,363	89,078	5,831	102,294

Cattle sales, accordingly, amounted to just over 4.6 per cent of the total cattle[1] in 1949 and to 5.4 per cent in 1950. For the year 1951, figures are available only for three reserves. viz. Otjimbingue, Otjituo and Waterberg. In these three reserves the number of cattle sold during the year amounted to 3,674 head, while the total cattle population at the end of the year was 61,613. Hence, just under 6 per cent of the total cattle (again excluding cattle losses and slaughtered stock) were sold.

At first sight, the only means of lending significance to these percentages in terms of our problem would seem to compare them with corresponding percentages of previous years, say 10, 15 and 25 years ago. Unfortunately, however, such comparative figures are not available. But even if they were they would, in fact, only partly reflect a change – or otherwise – in the Herero's basic attitude towards the sale of cattle. For what percentage of the total cattle is sold in a given

[1] i.e. cattle population at end of year plus cattle sold during the year but disregarding cattle losses and slaughtered stock.

year depends not only upon the stock-owner's willingness to part with some of his stock but also on such factors as the prices offered in the market, conditions of grazing and water supply, the money derived from other sources of income (such as the sale of milk), the yield of the grain crop and so on.

Now it is precisely because all these factors must be taken into consideration that the figures for the last three years are in themselves significant for our problem. If the Herero were still basically averse to the idea of selling cattle they would do so only if forced by outward circumstances, for instance a threatening drought, a drop in their other sources of cash income, a failure of their grain crops, etc. while in times of general prosperity we should expect them to scoff at the idea of parting with their cattle as then they could satisfy their essential material wants in other ways. The record of the last three years, however, shows that the general trend has been distinctly in the opposite direction. Both 1949 and 1950 were good rain years (1950 was in fact the best year since 1934); hence, the milk diet of the Herero was plentiful, their maize crop so good that in large parts of the northern reserves (Waterberg, Epukiro, Otjituo) they needed to buy only little or no maize to supplement their diet during the months when most of their cows are dry, and their cash income from the sale of cream reached a peak in 1950 and a still higher peak in 1951 (see p. 125). Yet their cattle sales increased steadily between 1949 and 1951. This clearly indicates a marked departure from their former conservative attitude which has so often been emphasized by previous observers.

It might, of course, be suggested that the recent percentage increase in stock sales is not due to any greater willingness to sell cattle but is the result of the maximum limit set to the number of large stock allowed to each brand-owner (cf. p. 121). An analysis of the stock-registers from the point of view of the size of individual herds shows, however, that the number of stock-owners, who have reached or are anywhere near, the imposed limit of 100 head of large stock is so small that fear of overstepping it can have been responsible only for very few sales. Thus in the three reserves Aminuis, Otjituo and Ovitoto there was, in 1951, a total of 1,388 male and 248 female stock-owners.[1] Of these only 17 men and 3 women possessed upwards of 75 head of large stock while only two possessed more than 100 animals and had, accordingly, been warned either to sell or otherwise dispose of their excess stock.

It would, of course, throw further light on the extent to which the traditional attitude towards the sale of stock has been changing if figures could be quoted showing how the cattle that are sold every year either to individual speculators, to farmers, or at public auctions are distributed over the various categories of stock-owners (as ranging from poor to comparatively wealthy). The hard core of a conservative attitude would obviously have to be looked for among the wealthier Natives, that is to say those owning upward of 35 to 40 head of large stock. Hence, if it could be shown that a proportionately greater number of cattle were sold by this latter category, this would demonstrate even more clearly that the motive for selling surplus stock is no longer the urgent need for cash but a growing appreciation of economic values other than cattle.

Unfortunately, no exact figures can be quoted,[2] but the writer was assured by several Welfare Officers as well as by Native informants that it is indeed mainly the wealthier Native who sells cattle (especially at public auctions) while the poorer people (possessing up to 10 or 15 head of large stock) depend for their cash requirements chiefly on creaming (see p. 125 *seq.*) When taking into account that 692 out of 1,636 stock-owners (see above) or 42.3 per cent possess up to 15 head of large stock only, the total percentages of stock sales which we quoted above become even more impressive, provided it is true that the poorer stock-owners sell proportionately fewer animals than the wealthier ones.

[1] i.e. registered brand-owners. The herds of some brand-owners contain animals that belong to a relative who, for some reason or other, has not applied for a brand number of his own. *Vice versa*, not all brand-owners live in the Reserve but some have their stock looked after by a relative while they work on a farm or in town.

[2] When cattle are written off in the stock registers, animals that have died are sometimes lumped together with those that have been sold or slaughtered.

As regards the second requirement for a successful adaptation to a modern competitive cattle economy, viz. the improvement in the quality of stock, the response to measures advocated by the Administration has been rather varied.

As is the case among all pastoral tribes of Africa, the herds of the Herero still contain far too many bulls – the majority of them being classed as scrub bulls – as well as an undue proportion of old oxen and quean cows. Thus whereas in a well-composed herd there should be no more than one bull to 50 cows, the Herero, in 1950 – 51, had one bull to thirty cows of which, moreover, a rather large percentage were quean cows.

It does not appear that the keeping of large "numbers of uneconomic stock" is to-day still based on religious notions as was the case prior to the Herero war when a large percentage of all cattle was consecrated to the ancestral spirits and hence could neither be sold nor slaughtered for meat.[1] Although "neo-paganism" is undoubtedly on the increase among the Herero, a consecration of cattle to the ancestors has, if at all, been revived only on a small scale. Nevertheless, pride in the possession of oxen is still a strong trait of present-day pastoralism. In each of the reserves visited I heard stories about Natives who had taken their best oxen to an auction sale, not with the intention of selling them but merely to parade them in front of their fellow tribesmen and to find out what they would be offered for them.

With the intention of bringing about an economically sounder composition of herds, the Administration has, for a number of years, advised stock-owners to sell or slaughter their uneconomic stock. As there was little response, a system of graded grazing fees was recently introduced. Thus, in the Ovitoto Reserve an extra penny a month is charged for scrub bulls and an extra 3*d.* for oxen in excess of three per brand-owner. As the measure was only recently introduced, it is still too early to say whether it will have the desired effect.

As regards the quality of the individual beasts, there are a number of symptoms to indicate that the traditional attitude which has been summed up in the words "quantity, not quality, counts" is gradually changing. The minutes kept of debates in the Native Reserve Boards[2] on the proposed purchase of stud bulls from Trust Funds reveal that the idea of improving their stock through the use of better bulls is gradually being appreciated by the leading elders of the tribe. Difficulties usually arise over the question as to what breeds should be chosen. The Administration is in favour of hardy Afrikander bulls because they are particularly well suited to the conditions prevailing in the reserves. The Natives, on the other hand, want to have "milk cattle" (e.g. Simmenthaler), and they maintain that Afrikander bulls are too wild to be allowed to run with the herd. The fact that in one reserve Afrikander bulls bought from Trust Fund money are not being used but stand idle in a camp and that in others the Boardmen have persistently expressed themselves against a purchase of such bulls does, therefore, not necessarily indicate an indifferent attitude of the Herero towards an improvement of their stock. Thus in a recent report, the Welfare Officer of the Waterberg East Reserve writes: "I have reliable evidence from farmers that the people take their cattle there to be covered. They want their stock to improve but shun the trouble of having to manage the Afrikander bulls."

That the Herero are not indifferent to the quality of the stock they buy was confirmed by several Welfare Officers who attributed the rapid increase of herds after droughts or epidemics to the good judgment of the Herero in choosing the right type of beast when buying or trading cattle.

On the other hand, the complaint is often heard from administrative officials that the stock in the reserves could be in a much better condition if the Herero would refrain from concentrating it unduly in the immediate vicinity of the boreholes, with the result that the surrounding area becomes badly overstocked and trempled down while good pasture, which is well within reach of

[1] Cf. Irle, J., *Die Herero*, Gütersloh, 1906, p. 168 *seq.*

[2] Each reserve has a Reserve Board as a body of local self-government with the Native Commissioner as *ex officio* chairman and the Native headman (or headmen) and a varying number of elected and appointed boardmen as members.

the cattle, is not, or not sufficiently, being used. Herero elders with whom I discussed this matter said that they were aware of the danger of stock concentrations near boreholes, but they either claimed that the solution lay in the sinking of more boreholes or the building of additional dams, or they insisted that they had not sufficient authority over the young men and boys to make them herd the cattle properly. The latter point, which often crops up also in other contexts, clearly demonstrates how a maladjustment in the social structure has its direct repercussions on the economic system. To put such "unreasonable" behaviour as the undue concentration of stock near boreholes down to "inherent laziness and indolence", as some observers are inclined to do, seems a rather unsatisfactory explanation, for all impartial observers are agreed that this laziness appears only in certain aspects of the economic activities of the Herero while in others they shun no trouble and even show a remarkable energy and perseverance. In the Waterberg Reserve, for instance, a large section of the population treks regularly to the Sandveld portion of that Reserve where the grazing during the dry season is better than in the Western portion. But as the pasture there is deficient in phosphates and as the Natives prefer rain water for their stock, they return to the Western part of the reserve as soon as the rains set in. There is, accordingly, no show of indolence in this case, and the explanation is probably to be sought in the fact that such periodical treks are part and parcel of their long-established mode of pastoralism to which their whole social life is adapted. The concentration of stock at the boreholes, on the other hand, has resulted from the introduction of a novel feature into their pastoral habits and has created a problem of local overstocking which they find difficult to cope with as their social structure is too badly disrupted to achieve the proper adjustment.

Another important innovation which may serve as a test case for the Herero's capability of adaptation is the establishment of a dairy industry in the reserves. Here the response has not only been positive, but the Herero have displayed such an initiative and talent for organization in introducing a feature that is entirely novel to their traditional mode of life that in several reserves they run their own cream schemes with no, or only very slight, supervision on the part of the Administration.

The sale of milk was started on a small scale some fifteen years ago, in some reserves even earlier. The practice was at first to grant concessions to Europeans who established milk buying centres at various places in the reserves. Milk sales fluctuated, of course, according to raintall and the general condition of the stock, but on the whole they increased. As the licences held by European concessionaires expired, the Herero in a number of reserves voiced the desire to organize their own dairy industry. Although some officials with local experience were at first very sceptical or they frankly voiced their disbelief in the success of such an experiment,[1] the Natives were asked to work out detailed proposals as to how they intended to run the scheme. It involved such items as the erection of dairy buildings, the purchase of equipment (separators, cream cans, gauze, disinfectants, etc.), the organization of a transport service to collect the cream from the local dairies and convey it to the big creameries in the nearest towns, the employment and payment of the necessary staff (separator boys, clerks, transport drivers), etc. In due course such plans were submitted, and in several reserves the Natives have now been running their cream business either quite independently or semi-independently for several years with "highly successful" results, to use the words employed in a recent report.

The extent of the dairy industry in some of the Herero reserves can be gauged from the following figures:

Income to Residents from Sale of Cream in some Herero Reserves

Name of Reserve	*1949*	*1950*	*1951*	*No. of cows*
Aminuis	£3,292	£9,556	?	6,791
Epukiro	£2,270	£7,122	?	12,225
Otjimbingue	£ none	£1,928	£3,726	2,330
Otjituo	£3,000	£3,500	£4,780	?
Waterberg East	£ none	£8,796	£9,036	25,466

[1] Thus the Welfare Officer, Waterberg East Reserve, wrote in his 1942 report: "In my opinion the Natives will not be able to run their own dairy business satisfactorily; there will be endless disputes resulting in a very short time in the collapse of the whole scheme."

With the exception of Otjituo Reserve where transport during the main cream season (March to May) is very difficult owing to road conditions, all other reserves supply a very high percentage of first-grade cream (over 90 per cent in Waterberg East and Otjimbingue). This fact alone demonstrates the efficient functioning of the scheme, for any lack of hygiene in the handling of the milk at the local dairies and any hitch in the transport would be immediately reflected in a deterioration of the grade of the cream supplied.

It is a different question whether in the long-range interest of Native pastoralism the establishment of dairying in Native Reserves should be encouraged. It has been argued that, unless kept within reasonable limits, it will lead to a deterioration of the stock as not sufficient milk will be left for the calves, and also to a deterioration of the human diet. Besides, it will increase the tendency to concentrate the stock near the boreholes (where the dairies must, of necessity, be erected) and thus aggravate the danger of local overstocking. For the question under review, viz. to what extent the Herero have shown themselves capable of modifying their traditional economic system, this point is, however, only of secondary importance.

To mention yet another innovation: the combating of stock diseases through inoculation etc., meets with increasing understanding on the part of the Native stock-owner. While inoculation against contagious ("notifiable") diseases, such as anthrax, is compulsory and financed out of Trust Fund moneys, Natives who wish to inoculate their cattle against non-contagious or deficiency diseases must buy the vaccine themselves. While at first there was considerable scepticism, the readiness of individual Natives to buy vaccine has been steadily growing in all those cases where they could see how the mortality rate of their cattle was reduced through inoculation. At a single cattle post in Epukiro Reserve, to quote but one instance, stock-owners spent £20 on vaccines to inoculate their cattle against gallamsiekte with the result that they did not lose a single animal while neighbouring posts sustained heavy losses.

The preceding analysis, though not based on sufficient evidence to be conclusive in all points, shows clearly that the cattle economy of the Herero is well advanced on the road of adapting itself to present-day requirements as outlined above (cf. p. 121 *seq.*). The traditional notion that the size of herds is the main thing that counts is definitely being supplanted or at least supplemented by the idea that cattle are also a means of producing other forms of wealth. There is no likelihood that the future development of pastoralism among the Herero will founder on the rock of an obstinate conservatism which refuses to deviate from the principle that cattle are the only worthwhile possession, an attitude which apparently still prevails among such nomad cattle people as the Fulani and the Masai.

V

This change of attitude is also reflected by the growing demand for consumption goods. Without such a demand there would, as has been pointed out, be no incentive for the traditional attitude towards cattle to change. In that case we could say of the Herero what Mrs. Huxley wrote of the Masai after having re-visited them in 1947: "It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to 'civilize' tribesmen who remain obstinately nomadic and refuse to covet the material wealth dangled in front of them. If they prefer a skin to a shirt, where is their incentive? To them there is still no beauty, no satisfaction to eclipse a herd of sleek cattle."[1]

The Herero certainly no longer prefer a skin to a shirt.[2] In fact, detailed enquiries conducted by the writer in the concession stores of six Herero reserves as well as in a number of general dealers' establishments in Windhoek and other towns of the Territory have brought forth the almost stereotype information that the Herero "will buy nothing but the best" or that he "will pay a good

[1] See Huxley, E., *op cit.*, p. 96.

[2] Before the Herero war only the baptized Christians (then about 8 per cent of the tribe) had adopted European dress. Cf. Leutwein, *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, Berlin, 1907, p. 282.

price for a good thing". This applies equally to their clothing standards which are undoubtedly among the highest to be found anywhere in Negro Africa and to their purchases of stimulants and luxury foods (coffee, tea, tobacco, sugar, tinned foods, white flour, etc.).[1]

Their mode of dwelling, too, has greatly changed since pre-European days. The traditional "bee-hive" pontok has, even in the reserves, almost completely given way to rectangular huts[2] consisting of a wooden framework plastered with clay and a gabled roof covered with grass or bark or, occasionally, corrugated iron or flattened tins. Practically all houses, even the circular ones, have wooden doors with door-frames and hinges, and one frequently sees window openings provided with shutters though rarely with glass panes. The interior of the house is often divided into two partitions. The furniture is still rudimentary, consisting of home-made chairs, tables, shelves and, sometimes, bedsteads, but even this minimum is not found in all houses. More elaborate furniture, in some cases approaching the lower levels of European standards, is found only among the small group of salary earners (teachers, policemen, clerks, interpreters, etc.) and traders. On the other hand, simple European household utensils (three-legged iron pots, zinc pails and basins, enamelled bowls, cups and plates, spoons and knives) are in general use and have largely superseded home-made utensils, with the exception of gourds and a few objects carved of wood (bowls, spoons, ladles). Two expensive items of European manufacture which are to be seen in otherwise quite empty huts are hand sewing-machines, the most valued possession of the Herero woman, and horse saddles.

It will be gathered from the foregoing that the average standards of housing and furniture are still simpler than those prevailing among most of the agricultural tribes of South Africa. It must, however, be taken into consideration that the Herero, like all pastoral tribes, had a traditionally much lower level of material culture. Taking this difference in the initial position into account, they have adopted more material goods than most of the agriculturalists and decidedly more than the Bergdama, the Hottentots and even the Ambo whose average dwellings in the Police Zone of South West Africa my Herero informants described to me as "large but empty"

The increasing demand for consumption goods is clearly reflected by the expansion of trade in most of the reserves. Although the reserve population has increased only insignificantly during the last fifteen years, the number of stores has multiplied and so has the turnover of the individual stores, even after taking the rise of prices into consideration. All the new reserve stores for which licences have been granted are run by Herero or Herero hybrids. Though the majority of them does only an fraction of the business that the European concession stores do, some Native traders have now been six, eight or more years in business, and their annual turnover range from under a thousand to £2,500 a year.[3] It is, of course, possible that the expansion of trade in the reserves has reduced the volume of trade done with reserve residents in the nearest towns, but in view of the increased transport facilities and the upward rather than downward trend in the number of travel passes issued this is unlikely.

VI

As compared with pastoralism, the cultivation of crops plays only an insignificant rôle in the economic life of the Reserve Herero. This is, of course, due partly to climatic conditions which in most parts of the Territory rule out agriculture

[1] The picturesque "mid-Victorian" dresses worn by the Herero women present a striking analogy to the local styles of attire found among rural communities in Europe. Just as the latter were copied from urban fashions and then adhered to without modification long after the urban fashions had become obsolete, so the Herero adopted their style of dress from the wives of the early missionaries and retained it ever since. It is interesting to note how in this case, after the complete change-over from their leather garments to the new mode of dress, the spirit of conservatism reaffirmed itself.

[2] Huts occupied by aged widows and children or used for storing things are often round. However, they are not built like the traditional Herero pontok, but the walls and the conical roof are structurally separate units.

[3] In one or two exceptional cases still more.

on anything but a very small scale, and partly to the traditional contempt of the Herero for any but pastoral pursuits. It is, however, interesting to note that in some reserves where the rainfall in normal years is heavy enough to allow the cultivation of maize without irrigation, they have taken to plough cultivation on a moderately large scale. In the northern portion of Epukiro Reserve, for instance, about 500 hectares are under cultivation in an area inhabited by some 1,200 people, and in good years as many as 1,500 bags of maize have been reaped there. Tobacco, pumpkins and beans are also grown on a small scale. Nevertheless, wherever Bergdama communities live among the Herero (as in Otjituo, Waterberg, Otjimbingue, Ovitoto), the former prove to be the keener and more industrious gardeners.

VII

What about the remaining 50 per cent of the Herero tribe that live either on European-owned farms or in urban locations? Generally speaking, both groups represent the less conservative element. This is especially true of those persons that remained on farms or in towns after the reserves had been created.

Nevertheless, as far as the Herero working on farms are concerned, the remarks made by Driessler in 1932 [1] still apply to-day. Enquiries made by the writer on farms in several districts (mainly Windhoek, Gobabis, Grootfontein) showed that most Herero consider employment on a farm either as a temporary expedient when conditions in the reserves are unfavourable (owing, e.g., to drought or stock diseases) or as a more prolonged but still transitory arrangement by which to assemble a herd or large and small stock that will later allow them to settle in a reserve. If it were not for the fact that most reserves are overstocked [2] and hence closed to newcomers with stock, it could safely be predicted that most Herero would move from farms to reserves as soon as they had accumulated sufficient stock to subsist on.

Whether the same is true of the Herero living in towns is more difficult to say. For whereas the number of Herero living on farms has steadily decreased during the last 25 years, the number of Herero in urban areas has sharply increased, especially during the last ten years.

Urban Herero of the older generation, even if they have lived in town since their childhood days and are either engaged in prosperous trades or hold positions of trust with their employers in whose service they have sometimes been for decades, usually have a stake in one of the reserves, investing their savings in stock which their relatives in the reserve tend for them.

A different attitude seems to be taken by an increasing number of young men and women who, coming either from farms or from reserves,[3] are attracted by the higher wages paid in towns and by the diversions of town life. Herero elders have repeatedly complained to me that these young people no longer take any interest in the possession of cattle but either spend their surplus earnings on swanky clothes, illicit drink and other dissipations or invest them in the various trades and economic enterprises – legitimate or otherwise – which they can carry on in town. Undoubtedly such a tendency exists as it does in urban locations throughout Africa. The question is how widely it prevails among the Herero. In this connection it is of interest to note that in 1950 in Windhoek alone 1,014 Natives had Post Office savings accounts, the monthly deposits averaging 9*s.* 2*d.* per account. Withdrawals, on the other hand, were negligible. Though the Post Office could give no information as to how these 1,014 savings accounts were distributed over the different ethnic groups,[4] all my informants (including Ambo, Coloureds, Bergdama and Hottentots) insisted that the overwhelming majority of accounts belonged to Herero of whom, in 1950,

[1] See p. 120.

[2] At least in relation to the available water supply which in most reserves allows only a portion of the land to be utilized.

[3] According to the Superintendent of Locations, Windhoek, nearly all newcomers to the urban area come from reserves and only few directly from farms. It seems that farm workers who wish to take up employment in an urban area, first return to a reserve and after a short stay there apply for work in town.

[4] Bergdama, Ambo, Herero, Hottentots, Bastards and Coloureds.

945 adult males and 799 adult females were living in Windhoek. The assurance given to me by a leading member of the Windhoek Coloured community that "practically every young or middle-aged Herero has a P. O. savings account" is therefore hardly contradicted by the available evidence. Moreover, all European observers are agreed that the Herero, in striking contrast to the Bergdama and the Hottentots, are thrifty, often to the point of stinginess.

These facts suggest that the urban Herero, including the younger generation, are as a body just as keen to save money as the Herero on farms are to accumulate stock. That the former, as far as they belong to the younger generation, do not usually buy stock as soon as they have saved enough money to be able to do so, does not mean that they will not do so when they grow older. Young Herero with whom I discussed this point said that they had bought no stock either because they had no relatives in a reserve who could look after it or because they did not trust their relatives, or else because the only breeding stock offered for sale in the reserves was of poor quality.

As far as the available evidence allows us to draw any conclusions, it may therefore be said that even the Herero living in towns plan their lives in such a way that they can return to a life of pastoralism when they get older.

VIII

The preceding discussion of aspects of conservatism and adaptation in the economic life of the Herero has shown, on the one hand, that in many respects their attitude fits the picture which Lord Hailey and others have drawn of the inherent conservatism of pastoral tribes. This would become even more evident if we could also have reviewed the Herero's social and political life as well as their attitude towards religion and education. That the conservative trend pervades their whole life and, in their dealings with Europeans, often takes the form of aloofness and "isolationism" is brought out in sharp relief in the following comment by an administrative official with many years of experience among them: "The Herero have many good points, but one cannot live for long amongst them in an administrational capacity without becoming aware of the great damage they are doing themselves by their uncompromisingly isolationist attitude. They have deliberately cut themselves off from all outside influences and want to live their lives in their own air-tight compartment where nothing may penetrate from outside. They realize that the Government has the power to penetrate this compartment, and for this reason they placate it by grudgingly allowing it some say in their affairs, but they will not take the Government into their confidence . . . They realize that the tribe is dying out and are worried about it, but with the Administration standing on their doorstep with medical aid, education and other resources which might save the position, they prefer to close and lock the door of their house and deny it entrance. The Herero is not unintelligent, but as long as he preserves this isolationist attitude he will fall far behind in the race of progress and other reputedly inferior tribes will pass him."[1]

Compare this with the words in which the 1934 Report on Native Affairs of the Government of Kenya summarized the attitude of the Masai : "They have in fact reached the height of their ambitions and have no desire for anything more. All they want is to be left alone, and therefore they profess outwardly a desire for progress in order to please their administrative officers, although they have not the slightest intention of translating their professions into action."[2]

On the other hand, we have seen that, in the economic sphere at least, the conservatism of the Herero has, of late, not really been uncompromising. Even if they may still seem so to the progressively-minded administrative official, the facts as discussed above show that their traditional pastoral outlook and behaviour are changing or have already changed in a number of important points. On the strength of those comparative data which have been available to the present writer, it appears in fact that among the exclusively pastoral tribes of Africa the Herero have so far

[1] Quoted from the 1942 report of the Welfare Officer, Waterberg East Native Reserve.
[2] Quoted from L. James, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

achieved the most successful adaptation to modern conditions.

To discuss at length the possible causes for their relatively greater capacity for adaptation would go beyond the scope of the present article. For it would require a searching analysis of the last hundred years of their history and a detailed comparative study of all the points of similarity and dissimilarity between the purely pastoral tribes of Africa and of their differential history of culture contact. The most important single cause was probably the Herero's transition from nomadism to a settled mode of life, a process which in itself poses a problem for investigation. Another important cause must have been their prolonged wars with the Hottentots. The superiority of the latter, due to their possession of firearms, could be neutralized by the Herero only if they grasped the opportunities offered them by the arrival of the early missionaries and traders. Had it not been for the need in which the Herero stood of guns and ammunition with which to keep the Hottentots at bay, it is at least highly doubtful if they would have been so comparatively amenable to exchanging oxen for trade goods, a departure from their traditional attitude which effected the first breach in the ideology of their nomadic pastoralism. After the Hottentot wars were over, the Herero's ingrained reluctance to sell oxen stiffened noticeably,[1] but by that time trade had already become a firmly established institution.

The Herero war and the complete, if temporary, disruption of their tribal life that it entailed, was, of course, a further powerful factor weakening their economic conservatism, for the life on farms and in towns created among the bulk of the Herero people new material wants which they could only satisfy for cash.

Still another factor, though one that will be difficult to isolate, suggests itself. Compared with the Hamitic cattle tribes, the Herero have had much longer and more intimate contacts with the Bantu whose language they adopted and who must have influenced them not only physically but also culturally. Though this influence had not visibly affected the specialization of their pastoral culture (except, to some extent, in their social system),[2] it may have prepared the ground for a more willing adaptation when the impact of contact forces began in the middle of the last century.[3]

One final remark: Many European observers take a rather pessimistic view of the tribal future of the Herero. They base this view on the Herero's alleged inertia, isolationism or conservatism in the face of the opportunities offered to them, on their low birth rate, and on the apparent breakdown of marriage and the family among them. A discussion of the last two points must be reserved to a separate publication, but as far as their conservatism is concerned, it would not be difficult to demonstrate that in some ways it is having an integrative rather than a disintegrative effect. For without a good measure of conservatism it is doubtful whether the Herero, in the face of their chequered history, would have maintained their ethnic identity, their political solidarity and the foundations of their pastoral life which, aided by the creation of reserves, has so far spared them the fate of detribalization.

[1] Cf. Irle, *op cit.*, p. 169–70.

[2] Cf. Baumann, H., *Völkerkunde von Afrika*, Essen, 1938, p. 98 *seq.* Also : Brauer, E., *op. cit.*

[3] To the present writer who can compare from personal knowledge the Herero with the Masai and both with such typical Bantu agriculturalists as the Bantu of Kavirondo, this seems a not unimportant contributory cause.

AFRICAN REINCARNATION RE-EXAMINED

B. STEFANISZYN *

SYNOPSIS

Many authors report in Northern Rhodesian tribes the belief in reincarnation of the dead ancestors into new born children. They think, however, that it is a partial reincarnation, an afflatus or emanation or a part of a "pool of spirits" of the dead ancestors. These theories are put forward in order to co-ordinate the belief in reincarnation with the belief in two separate and autonomic agencies of the ancestor-guardian-spirit and of the subject-ward in which that spirit is "reincarnate".

The writer came to the conclusion that the natives do not believe in reincarnation but in simple naming, conferring the name of an ancestor, dead or alive, on a child. This may be termed "nominal reincarnation." This namesake spirit does not affect its subject essentially in any different way from other family spirits.

To this effect the writer quotes the pronouncements of natives of eleven tribes as contained in oracles, prayers and dedications. The misleading factor is a figurative parlance over the second birth which conveys the idea of complete identification of the spirit and its ward. To this point of view an occasional native succumbs.

The claim that what has been construed as reincarnation is but simple naming is also borne out by the testimonies of natives themselves. Among the Bisa, Ambo and Bemba, certain individuals are never "reincarnated", or only after a few years, and in the Marawi group children are named after living members without any reservation. Thus the children are the living monuments of the dead for these matrilineal Central Bantu.

Some authors writing on Northern Rhodesian tribes had come to the conclusion that many of these tribes believe that the spirits of dead ancestors are reincarnated in new born children.

Melland writes of the Kaonde: "After a man dies he is not strictly speaking reincarnated in a baby . . . It is more accurate to say that the spirit of the new infant emanates from a deceased person."[1] "The divination is not merely to choose the name; it is undertaken to find out of which deceased relative the baby is a reincarnation, for they believe that everyone who dies is born again in the person of some infant of the same family."[2]

Doke writes of the Lamba: "The spirit can only be reincarnated in a member of the same clan as the deceased . . . It seems that it is not the entire spirit which is reincarnated at a birth, but a kind of afflatus from it. This view is borne out by the fact that the spirit of one ancestor may be born into more than one babe at the same time. This is further confirmed by the fact that the spirit is still honoured and propitiated after a child bearing the same name has been born."[3]

Smith writes of the Ila: "The Baila seem to think that a certain number of spirits were created at the beginning and given bodies; when the

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[1] Melland, 1923, p. 150.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[3] Doke, 1931, p. 241.

bodies wear out or are destroyed, the ghosts live for a short time free and they have other bodies prepared for them. They seem to regard this as the best of all the possible worlds, for the disembodied spirits clamour to be reborn."[1]

Munday writes of the Lala: "Every member of a family will hope that it is the spirit of a 'lucky' person which has become incarnate in the baby, and the incarnation of an 'unlucky' spirit is much dreaded."[2] "In no sense can they be regarded as being individual spirits, rather they are to be thought of as 'pool-spirits', from which each person at birth is possessed by a 'part'; though in a sense a part of a spirit is within him, that part is still identical with that which is without."[3]

Colson writes of the Tonga of Northern Rhodesia: "The claims of the two groups are clearly demonstrated in this matter of naming. Within a few months of its birth the father gives the child one of the names current in his group. This is symbolized by a circlet of beads placed around the child's right arm. Thereafter the mother's group gives one of its names and places a wristlet on the left arm. Each name symbolizes some ancestral spirit who is now thought to reincarnate in the child."[4]

Melland's emanation Doke calls afflatus in order to explain simultaneous multiple reincarnations of one and the same spirit, and on account of an obvious separate simultaneous existence of the spirit, as it was before and apart from reincarnation, and the reincarnated spirit in a new born person. The same idea is propounded by Munday when he writes of 'pool-spirits' from which a new born baby receives only a part of a spirit which is much like an emanation. Smith does not theorize but states only the account with its puzzling, unanswered questions. There are incongruences with removals and arrivals of different spirits in the reincarnated subject. He sees the uncertainty of the exact time of reincarnation so that a possibility is latent that a person for some time may enjoy a non-reincarnate existence. He does not know the relation of the spirit to the body.

These authors give only probable explanations. Melland thinks emanation is more accurate than simple reincarnation. Doke also thinks of an afflatus as probable ("it seems"), and Smith lists a number of questions to which they (Baila) can supply no answer. For Munday, "rather they (spirits) are to be thought of as 'pool-spirits' ".

Munday aptly answers from where come these uncertainties by saying: "Clear-cut theories which the African can put into words are, of course, not to be found."[5] This reincarnation belief may be a typical example of the working of the primitive, prelogical mind, as will be seen further on.

The writer in the course of his investigations among the Ambo began to doubt the theories constructed by the above authors in order to integrate and reconcile conflicting elements of this system.

It must be noted that it is the anthropologists who reject reincarnation pure and simple, as we have seen, to avoid discrepancies and contradictions. The natives do not indulge in such subtleties. They state tersely in prayers and oracles: "So and so has been born again." The theories of afflatus, emanation or parts of "pool-spirits" received in the new born child, are anthropological attempts to introduce some sort of attenuated but distinct individuality between the ward and the guardian spirit. But again such attempts run counter to the blunt native opinion that So-and-so is reborn grandfather or grandmother.

Because I am conversant with at least two of the languages spoken in my area I propose, while paying attention to each native statement, not to propound probable native theories on reincarnation but to deduce what is the native point of view. This objective I propose to achieve by studying in their vernaculars their ritual utterances, prayers, and oracles and actions. Thereby it will be possible to see whether there are concepts of a separate individuality in a new born child with a new spirit as distinct from that of the ancestor guardian spirit. This method is not unlike that of deducing legal principles of native customary law from court cases.

[1] Smith, 1920, p. 152.
[2] Munday, 1948, p. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[4] Colson, 1951, p. 148.
[5] Munday, 1948, p. 1.

I shall use the internal argument as formed from the presentation and analysis of the rites as well as the external argument – the opinions of the natives, highly educated as well as old staunch traditionalists – on the meaning of their system. I propose first to examine the system as found and practised by a few groups of tribes to gain a comprehensive view of the problem and to see whether all the examined tribes adhere to the same system with possible accidental variations or whether the system varies essentially with different tribes. Munday is not sure but suspects the basic identity of the tribal systems: "There are slightly different customs in the different areas, but the beliefs which lie behind them seem to be the same."

The general scheme for naming a child and the behaviour towards the guardian spirit can be tabulated as follows:

1. Difficult delivery as related to the guardian spirit.
2. Tentative naming without sickness and divination.
3. Naming the child through divination occasioned by sickness.
4. Relapse of the sickness and subsequent withdrawal of the name, with simultaneous giving of another name or a beer sacrifice. These are done through divination.
5. Offending the spirit through cursing a child.
6. Behaviour of the adult towards the guardian spirit.

THE BANTU BOTATWE GROUP [1]

(a) *The Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*

If delivery is unusually difficult it is due to a spirit which in this way shows that it wants the child to be named after him. Another alternative may be marital infidelity.

When an unmarried woman is in difficult labour, the family spirits are invoked to save her.

If a married woman is in difficult labour, the elders may think of a spirit, without divination, which has not yet been named in a child. A grandmother (from the side of the family to which the spirit belongs) spurts water first at the door-post, then on the chest of the woman in labour, saying: "We implore you, we shall do what you want" (*Twakomba, akaka tulacita ncoyanda*).

On the day of birth or, according to another practice, when the navel cord drops, the midwife gives a name related to some incident happening on the birthday, e.g. if there is a beer party on that day, the child will be named Beer, *Bukoko*. This preliminary name will often disappear in time but is sometimes retained throughout life. If the child is about two months old and has not been sick, the father gives a few names from his paternal and maternal side and the mother does the same. The father's mother, on giving a name, binds a string of beads round the right wrist (if the name comes from the father's side) and says: "Sir, look after yourself" (*Banene kamuliminina*), while adding the name.

If the child gets sick, there is recourse to a diviner. He may give an oracle: "You have passed over your brother in not naming a child after him" (*Wamwinda mwanokwabo kutaulika*). Then another name is added.

In another alternative the diviner decides that the name should be withdrawn, because another spirit wants to be reborn. The grandmother takes off the beads and ties on others with the words: "We withdraw your name, So-and-so, from this child. We give So-and-so, because he (she) wants to be named" (*Twagwishya izina lyako Ndaba kumwana oyu. Twapa Ndaba nkaambo uyanda kuulikwa*).

In another instance of sickness the diviner may decide that beer be brewed in honour of the guardian spirit. When the beer has been brewed an old clanswoman spurts beer at a doorpost saying: "This is the beer we give you, look after the children. We do not like a person who makes a child sick" *(Mboobu bukoko twamupa, ngamulembela kabotu kubana. Tatuyandi muntu ucisya mwana)*.[2]

[1] So termed by the late Fr. S. Torrend, S. J. It includes the Tonga, Lenje and Ila, with related tribes.

[2] Before the beer is brewed there is the usual promise of beer with spurting of water and almost the same words of address.

If the child becomes sick soon after birth, there is at once recourse to divination, and a spirit name is determined through the oracle and given in the usual manner.

Later on in life a spirit may want a spirit gate-shrine *(cilyango)*. One account has it that only important headmen and renowned hunters want these shrines in order not to mix with inferior spirits. Another informant, actually an owner of a spirit-gate, stated that if a man is seriously ill, it may be found through divination that: "A spirit whose name had been given long ago, asks for a spirit-gate" *(Muzimo wakaulikwa kaindi uwamba cilyango)*. The rite of dedication of the spirit-gate is performed by an old clans-woman with spurting of beer and an elaborate offering of a fowl. The prayer runs thus: "So-and-so, my man, make him walk well, that he be in good health just as his fellow men live in good health" *(Ndaba muntu wangu kamwensya kabotu apone kabotu mbuli kupona bantunyina)*. An old clansman may also dedicate the shrine provided he has not the same name as the man for whom he intercedes.

An adult Tonga when offering beer sacrifice to his guardian spirits prays: "I am Simwami, I spurt for my spirit, lead me well my spirit. May you lead me well my spirit, Simulonga, may you lead me well Mwanabula, my spirit" "*Ndime Simwami, ndapila mizimo yangu. Ndi ndeenzya kabotu mizimo yangu. Undeenzya kabotu mizimo yangu Simulonga. Undeenzya kabotu Mwanabula mizimo yangu*".

Analysis: It may be easily discerned that two leading ideas constitute the backbone of the system. Firstly, it is a duty to record all ancestors' names in the new born children; secondly, there is a sharp difference between two individual beings: that of the ward and that of the guardian spirit. In the first tentative naming, those who give names are concerned to record in children all the names of the dead ancestors according to a mental list kept by old women. The giving of names almost at random and strongly tentatively before ascertaining the reincarnation argues in favour of simple naming. In real reincarnation the givers of names would be at pains to discover the reincarnated spirit first. Here again the divination confirms only simple naming when anxiety is expressed to find out which spirit has been passed over and is thus offended.

No author quoted above comments on the withdrawing of the spirit and of the name from the child. Certainly Western minds are reluctant to acknowledge that a reincarnated spirit may be implored to withdraw from the subject and that another spirit instead may be introduced or, even without withdrawal, added. But in the formula above it is clearly expressed that a name is withdrawn from the child and another name given.

Smith asks what is the relation between the spirit and the body, but he takes for granted the reincarnated spirit. The interaction between the guardian spirit and the ward is apparent from the rites. The guardian spirit makes his ward sick as a signal of his request. This agent must be induced to change or withdraw his action upon his subject. The subject also reacts. The purpose of both actions differ. Thus in the interaction between the spirit and the subject upon which the spirit acts, there is not the unity of a reincarnated being, but two beings united neither by action nor by the purpose of actions. The only link between these two agents is the same name with a background of clan or kin relationship. It must be emphasized that the action which a spirit-agent exercises upon his ward-subject is also practised by any spirit-agent on any subject where there is no community of the same name but only community of family relationship. Thus these interactions also take place apart from reincarnation.

These ideas are well evidenced in the exclamation: "I am Simwami." The name-link is Simwami, but there are two separate individual beings acting one upon another. This is aptly and laconically expressed by an informant, a Tonga Catholic priest: "It is only a protector" *(Ninguli buyo)*, and nothing more. Thus there are only three interacting relationships between the guardian spirit and the ward: kinship, name and guardianship.

The name-link plays the most conspicuous and most important part. The identity of the name connotes the whole person and his deeds. This link is stressed and elaborated to complete identification of the spirit and his ward. This close, nominal identification forms an outlet for strange figurative speech.[1] The above mentioned informant declared that: "If anybody listened to how the people talk, he really would have to concede that they believe in reincarnation." A woman who gave him one of his many names expatiates, attributing to him the deeds of his ancestor namesake.

In simple naming there is no difficulty in reconciling the clan membership of the guardian spirit with that of his ward. But in real reincarnation there would be the inexplicable phenomenon that a few spirits are reincarnated in a subject who has a totally different clan from many of the spirits involved, or even from all of them, as he may not necessarily have a name from his mother's clan if only one name has been determined by divination.

The writer had no opportunity to re-examine the Ila reincarnation, but they form such a close cultural unity with the Tonga that a major deviation from the system is hardly likely.

(b) *The Lenje:*

When a woman has a difficult labour, it is said that either one spirit is causing the trouble in order to have the child named after him or two spirits are fighting for a name.

If the child is not sick, it has no spirit name but it is called *Kalumbwana* (Little boy), or *Kasimbi* (little girl).

The name is given only when the child cries much or is sick. Then the diviner is always consulted. He may give such an oracle: "A person who has died has come to the child, he wants to be reborn" *(Muntu wakafwa wasika mu mwana, uyanda kusyalwa)*. Another oracle may run as follows: "The child is sick because it wants the name of the clansman who died at such and such a time, So-and-so" *(Mwana uluciswa pakwinga ulisuni lina lyamukwabo wakafwa cindi cakuti Ndaba)*. The diviner may decide that the child be given a few names. Each giver of a name ties white beads on the wrist of the child and says: "So-and-so has been born in you" *(Basyalwa Bandaba muli ndiwe)*.

Another address may be worded like this: "So-and-so, you have been born, may the child be well, this is the string of beads" *(Ndaba mwasyalwa, mwana akale kabotu, kankole aka)*.

If the child gets sick after the naming rites, there are alternatives. If the child has been given one name, beer is brewed on the advice of the diviner. The child has a wristlet of white beads round the left wrist to signify appeasement and the drinking calabash is also dressed in white beads. The beer is poured onto the ground on the grave with the words: "Now we have given you the food, do not trouble us" *(Ono twakupa cakulya, leka kutupensya)*.

When the child has two names, the diviner advises that because of two names, one spirit is dissatisfied and should be removed. It is said: "The child has refused the name". If the spirit is from the paternal side, the father removes it; otherwise the mother does so. A person performing the ceremony takes a small stick, makes a circle over the child's head and says: "We have withdrawn you from this child, we are suspending you, wait until you are reborn again" *(Twakukusyamo mu mwanicooyu, tutekukwanjika, ulaakusyalwa kabotu kunembo)*.

A child or an adult may be made sick either by his guardian spirit or another clan ancestor spirit. The angry spirit is found out by divination. The beer is brewed and the sacrifice is performed on the grave with the prayer: "We are humble, go in peace we pray, do not look backwards, there is no cause with us, we are humble, go and arrive well" *(Twakabomba koya kabotu, tabalangi kusyule, takumulandu kuli ndisive. Twakabomba, koya usike kabotu)*.

With the Lenje a woman ancestor's spirit may give her name to a boy, and a male ancestor his name to a girl. The Tonga, in giving names, follow the sex, being afraid lest they destroy the genital powers if they pass the name from one sex to the other. Neither the Lenje nor the Tonga

[1] Smith, 1920, II, p. 157.

bestow names of a living person. If they do so the names really refer to the dead ancestor of both living namesakes.

Analysis: There is a general similarity with the Tonga system in the interaction of the spirit and the subject. In spite of the prevalent reincarnation phraseology, the most important proof against reincarnation is the prayer to the spirit of the kin and of the guardian spirit to go away from the afflicted subject. This request shows the belief that the actions of the spirits are of a temporary nature and of an agency external to the subject.

Thus it is clear that "to be reborn" in Lenje parlance means the rebirth of the name through the birth of the heir. This is borne out in the oracles where the phrases "to be reborn" and "to want a name" are equivalent alternatives. This conclusion is confirmed by a highly competent and intelligent informant who stated that the giving of names, termed a "rebirth", is for the "consolation and satisfaction of the living kin", but there is no belief in actual reincarnation.

Reincarnation, even attenuated to some afflatus, would have to face many difficulties. The Tonga and the Lenje give many names to the child. Thus in the case of reincarnation the child would be a member of many different clans, as we have seen. But after death each individual is considered as a single person, not as a composite one, to be reincarnated again. How did the different spirits of various clan allegiance, amalgamate in the subject? If the natives mean only a mere naming, then they are justified in not being concerned with all these problems.

THE SOLI

When a woman is in unusually difficult labour, at first medicines are applied. Then the diviner may decide whether she has been bewitched or "a spirit wants a name." After consultation a name is chosen of a spirit which has not yet been named. An old kinswoman names the unborn child: "We are delighted to see that you are given the name of Syalemba" (*Tulatemwe kuona eti ulatumwa dina ili dya Syalemba*).

A diviner is always consulted as to the naming of the child. The occasion for the consultation is when the child cries much or is sick. Only one name is given from the father's or mother's side; the name of a dead female may be given to a boy, and a male ancestor's name to a girl if there is no child of the same sex and the name has to be given. The diviner addresses a crystal:[1] "I divine, I want to know what it is that makes this child sick. Perhaps it is the name from the grandmother who bore the mother of the father" (*Ndasondonga nsuni kwambeti njisibe cilakolwesyanga mwana uyu. Apo ni lina dilafumunga ku Bakambiendi balasema banyina apo baisi*).

The diviner puts medicines into water, washes the eyes of the mother who looks into the glass (in the calabash), and "the mother sees the face of the dead person whose spirit wants to name the child". The guardian spirit is referred to as *sikaina munendi*, his namesake and mate.[2]

The person giving the name spurts water on the child's chest, ties white cloth on the child or beads on its left wrist, and says: "We pour this water to say that this name be heard by all people that all may know that you are Kapeya" (*Tulakupanga minsi aya kwambeti lina lyakobe liumfwikile kubantu bonse ati njobe Kapeya*). Another address may be: "You, Syalemba, have been born a second time" (*Njobe Syalemba wasemekwa tubili*). The comment is: "They do not want a name to die, but that a child may live."

If the child is sick again, a diviner is consulted and another name is given. When another child is born, that first name is given to the new born and the first child loses that name. The second name may be given solemnly at a beer party. The headman makes a speech: "Hear ye all people, this beer is not a funeral one, no, this is in order to give a new name. The old one we shall withdraw that the new one may come" (*Nyumfwani mwe bantu mwense, ubu bwalwa tebo*

[1] The axehandle method is dying out.

[2] *Sikaina* from *kusika* (to arrive) and *ina* from *lia* (name), the *l* being elided. *Sikaina mname*, my namesake *Wikaina monobe*, your namesake (singular).

bwa maliro, sobwe, ekwambeti ni bwa kupulisya lina lya panopano. Lisa lya katali olo likulukulu balifunyemo mwise lya panopano). Then the father takes a white cloth, puts it on the child, and spurts water on its chest, saying: "I pour water that this new name be yours, may you walk in health" (*Ndakutila minsi kwambeti apo ili lina lya panopano apo lyakobe, wendelenga makosa*).

Some Soli withdraw a name from the child as the other tribes do, but this account comes from the Soli living near the Ambo. The former account comes from the centre of the Soli country. When the diviner decides that on account of sickness the name should be withdrawn, the person withdrawing the name spurts water on the chest of the child, tears off the beads, and says: "We withdraw your name, Msonda, we leave you another that of Kunda, may you walk in health" (*Twafumyamo lina lyenu, Msonda, tulasimo limbi lya njobe Kunda, mwendele makosa*).

If a grownup is sick, the diviner may decide: "The name they had given him wants beer" (*Lina libakumpa lilayandanga bwalwa*). On the day of beer drinking the headman announces: "This beer is the beer of greeting the name" (*Ubu bwalwa ni bwa kusekelela lina*). A brother or sister of the sick person pours some beer on the sick person's hands and says: "We pour beer on the hands that you may walk in health" (*Tulaitilinga bwalwa mumakasa kwambeti wendelenga makosa*).

When a diviner has found out the cause of a sickness, he may give an oracle: "His namesake says beer; let them brew beer for me" (*Sikaina wakwendi ati bwalwa; banjemenepo bwalwa*). When soaking grain for beer, a clan member dresses the sick person with white beads, tying them on the left wrist with the words: "Now it is your namesake who makes you sick, may you feel better, you yourself, may you walk in health and for ourselves may you soak (grain) beer" (*Apo ni sikaina wakobe wakukolwesyanga utantuke, we mwine wendelenga makosa, afwe bwalwa utusabikile*). On the beer day the father fills a drinking gourd and says: "This beer we have brewed for the namesake of this child who is sick of that disease. But now it has felt better, let us all rejoice" (*Ubu bwalwa wemena sikaina wa uyu mwana usa ulwasi wakolwanga. Lomba pano wanyumfwako caapa tutemwe twense*).

When a man goes on a journey, he goes a little distance from home, plucks two leaves, lays them crosswise at a big tree and says: "You, my namesake, look well after me on my journey, let me not meet a wild beast" (*Mwe basikaina bakame nkane ukumanya cilwani*).

When a hunter fails a few times to kill game, he goes to a diviner who may find out that the namesake has become angry saying, "they stint me beer". On the beer day the headman calls the people together in the morning. The first beer pot is brought out, the hunter fills a drinking gourd and after a speech hands it over to the headman: "This beer I have brewed for my namesake because lately I was not killing game; now when I went to the diviner, he caught my namesake saying it is beer that he wants. Now I brewed the beer for me. Now here I brewed this beer for you, now let us drink, let us rejoice all of us" (*Ubu bwalwa ndemena sikaina wakame pakuti katali tendali kusinapo nyama, pano mpu ndayako ku nanga baikata sikaina wakame ati ni bwalwa walayandanga. Lomba-me kunjemenapo bwalwa ne. Lomba mpu ndamwemene ubu bwalwa pano tunweni tutemwe twense*).

Analysis: In the Soli parlance, according to this report, there is scarcely any mention of reincarnation. All oracles and dedications express the bestowing of an ancestor name on a child. *Sikaina*, the name-sake, "the name-arrived", is thought of as a spirit independent of its ward. It is prayed to, called upon, sacrificed to. Among the Soli the concern to preserve the name is more marked than in the other tribes. In one instance the name is personified: "The name which they had given him wants beer". There is one phrase which refers to being born twice, but in view of the general parlance and relationship between the guardian spirit and his ward it must be interpreted in a figurative sense. The namesake may act upon its ward adversely as any other spirit in later life, when affecting its ward with sickness or bad luck. So the belief is that the relation of a clansman to his guardian spirit is the same as to other clan- and kin-spirits. There is a closer

connection between the guardian spirit and its ward than with other spirits on account of the special connecting link – the name.

The Soli practices differ from those of the surrounding tribes for the Soli are markedly distinct from them, especially in language and, we may presume, in many cultural traits. They are an immigrant people.

THE BEMBA GROUP

(a) *The Lamba*

The maternal grandmother may name the child tentatively before the diviner is approached. The diviner is consulted when the child cries more than usually, when it does not want to suck or is sick. A female name may be given to a boy or male name to a girl. A name from either the father's side or mother's side may be given to a child. The grandmother (from the side of the family from which the name comes) says: "We give you a name, you are So-and-so, stop crying" (*Twakupele isina, niwe Ndaba, leko kulira*). Then she dresses the child with beads. If the child goes on crying, then the diviner is again consulted. He inquires from which side, the father's or mother's side, the name has been chosen. The new name is chosen from the other side of the family for a change. For the first born the father has the priority of naming. Another formula for naming a child may be as follows: "You are So-and-so, that one who died, now stop crying". If you reject the name, cry freely that we may know" (*Webo niwe Kampanda ulyo wafwile. Nomba uleko kulira. Ngawakana, kolila lukoso twisibe*).

The family may go to the diviner many times. If they are tired with divining, and the child does not keep well, the clansmen themselves change the names.

Any spirit may cause sickness, the guardian spirit or any kin-spirit, especially when the name has been stabilized. The angry spirit is found out through divination. Beer sacrifice is offered. When soaking the grain for the brew, the grandmother speaks to the spirit: "This beer we soak. We want to implore you that this child may stop crying" (*Mbu bwalwa twayabika. Tulukufwaya kukupapatila ukuti uyo mwana aleceko kulira*). Clapping of hands follows.

The beer is poured on the grave by a maternal representative who addresses the spirit: "We implore you brother (sister), leave this brother of yours that it may stop crying and being sick" (*Twapapata we mukwasu, uleceko mukwanu uyu aleceko kulira no kulwala*). Ululating and clapping of hands follows.

Bad luck in hunting may also come from the guardian spirit as well as from other kin- or clan-spirits. The guardian spirit is called *mboswa*, the ward *cibwela*, from *kubwela* (to come back). *Cibwela* is explained: The spirit has come back, *Mupasi wabwelela*.

Analysis: Doke writes: "The spirit can only be reincarnated in a member of the same clan as the deceased."[1] This deduction logically follows the Lamba principle: "The great thing with the spirits is the clan."[2] This fact would facilitate the qualified reincarnation as propounded. But in no tribe under consideration is there such a thing as reincarnation in the same clan. In naming, the Lamba do not differ conspicuously from other tribes considered here. Significant belief is expressed in the words of the prayer where the spirit is asked to leave, to stop molesting the child. The word used is *kuleka*, to cease. Thus, as in other tribes, the separate entities of the ward and the guardian spirit are maintained. The interaction of the guardian spirit and his ward is not specific to their relationship because it occurs between the other clan-spirits and the human subject not connected with the name-link. The informants state that they, in this "Bemba" group of tribes, do not differ in this institution of giving names.

(b) *The Bisa*

When the pregnant mother dreams of a dead relative the name of that relative is given to the new born child. When the delivery is difficult, the diviner is consulted as to which spirit is causing the trouble. If two spirits contest the name, the senior spirit, which has not been named yet,

[1] Doke, 1931, p. 241.

[2] Ibid.

is chosen. The diviner says: "Your grandmother wants a name" (*Bambuya wenu alefwaya sina*). The maternal or paternal grandmother holds the child, spurts water on its chest and says: "I implore thee, grandmother, if you want to be born, to be named" (*Napapata Mbuya, kani mwe mulefwaya kufyalwa kuinikwe sina*).

When the child is sick again, the diviner is consulted. According to the wish of the spirit, another name is added or the former one is withdrawn. The respective grandmother (belonging to the clan or kin of the spirit) ties white beads round the left wrist of the child and says: "The name we have withdrawn, we implore you, you have been named now after the second one" (*Lisina twafumya, twapapata, mwaunikwa babili nomba*). Then she spurts water on the chest of the child.

Another formula for naming is: "I implore thee, grandmother, may you walk in peace, you have been named in this child not to be sick again and again" (*Napapata, Bambuya, wende mutende, mwaunikwa sina mu mwana uyo, eyo kulwalalwala*).

If there is no sickness, no divination takes place. The father chooses the name for the first born child. Two or three names may be given to a child. If one name is added and the former not withdrawn, the child is called by both names. The child with a name is called the child of the "come-back", *mwana wa cibwela*.

An adult may be sick and it may be found through divination that an ancestor has been forgotten to be named in a child. A clansman spurts water on the chest of the sick person and addresses the spirit: "So-and-so cease, let this man get well. Now we know, we are going to give a name" (*Kampanda leko, uyo muntu apole. Apo twaisiba, tukakuinika*).

If a woman loses children she is doctored to take out of her a bad spirit which kills her children. The child born after this doctoring is called *Bwanga*, "the magical medicine". Some Bemba and Bisa are quite certain that such children have never had guardian spirits. There is some logic in it because the medicines were so potent that they overcame the spirit. Therefore rightly no spirit has any power over the child. Thus such a child is not "reincarnated". In this tribe much stress is laid on the name and, in one instance quoted above, the two expressions "to be named" and "to be born again" were used as complementary to, and as explanatory of, each other.

(c) *The Bemba*

When a pregnant woman has a difficult labour it may be found through divination that a spirit wanting a name is causing the trouble. The oracle may be like this: "The spirit, So-and-so, wants in the womb that when the child is born, let me be named, I, the spirit that is Mutale" (*Mupashi Cite ulefwaya mwifumo eli ukuti mwana ukafyalwa nine nikenikwa ne mupashi ni Mutale*). A representative of the clan or of the kin of the spirit ties a wristlet of white beads on the left hand of the mother and says: "We have spurted (water), you are Mutale" (*Twapala lomba, niwe Mutale*).

When the umbilical cord drops, though the child be well, the diviner is consulted about the name. The maternal grandmother ties a string of white beads round the left wrist of the child, spurts water on the chest of the child (another version says: on the head) and addresses it: "You spirit, you have been named in the child that it may walk in peace (be healthy)" (*We mupashi, wainikwa mumwana kuti aleendo mutende*).

If the child becomes sick the diviner is approached and he may find that one spirit must be withdrawn and another introduced. "The spirit does not want to be named and the oracle is opposing. He who is wanted, is Kasonde" (*Mupashi taulefwaya kuinikwa na lukana lubuko. Ulefwayikwamo Kasonde*). At home the father snaps off the old beads tied to the wrist of the child, and ties new ones: "You, the spirit, you have refused to be named in the child. Therefore we want Kasonde" (*Iwe, we mupashi, wakana kuinikwa mu mwana. Lomba tulefwaya Bakasonde*). Then the mother spurts water on the head of the child and says: "You have been called Kasonde" (*Niwe Kasonde wainikwa*).

When a child is sick a diviner may give such an oracle: "You, the spirit of old Mulenga, if you have come to make this child sick, indeed,

it is right that you tell us that we may know" (*We mupashi, Mulenga mukulu, ngani we ushile lwalika mwanoyu, kanshi calinga watweba tuishibe*).

When the ward is grown up, the guardian spirit or any other spirit of the kin may want beer and may inflict sickness on the living. The procedure is not unlike that of the other tribes of this group. Only one name is given at a time. A male name may be given to a female and conversely.

Comments: The above oracle, addressed to the old Mulenga, clearly differentiates between two individuals, the spirit-agent acting upon the child-subject. In the collected oracles and addresses there is hardly any idea of reincarnation, except the naming.

The Bemba informants, when at pains to explain the "reincarnation" were fond of pointing at the similarity of patron Saints giving a name to a Christian at baptism and the guardian-spirits giving a name to their wards.

Significantly Richards did not seem to encounter much of reincarnation talk. This is what she says of the Bemba: "Characteristic of Bemba dogma is the belief in the return of the mipashi of dead ancestors or of the chiefs of the territory to act as guardian spirits to new-born children, the arrival of the spirit being indicated by the first stirring of the child in the womb, and its identity revealed by divination rites."[1] "A father ancestral spirit (mupashi) is honoured as well as mother and may enter the womb of a pregnant woman of the family and act as a guardian spirit to the new-born child."[2]

(d) *The Ambo of Northern Rhodesia*

When the delivery is unusually difficult, the relatives see whether "the womb goes up". This is the sign that there was a fault on the part of the parents who had an illicit intercourse with a third party during pregnancy. Then, as in other tribes, there is a recourse to confession of the partner and to the application of medicines. But if "the womb goes down", it is a sign that a spirit causes the trouble, asking in this way to have the child named. The will of the spirit may manifest itself in a dream but this is a rare occurrence. Instead of one spirit causing the trouble, there may be two spirits contesting for the name of the child. The maternal grandmother prays to the elder spirit unnamed and reverentially removes the other spirit. She breaks a stalk of grass, and putting it into the eaves, says: "Sit". To the other spirit she says: "If you, Kunda, want to be named, come down that you may grow" (*Ikala. Kani we Kunda wafwaya kuilikwa wise mutuwileko, ukule*).

If the diviner finds out that only one spirit makes the delivery difficult, a woman, a clan relative, having come back from the diviner, spurts water on the floor where the pregnant woman lies, saying: "If it is you, So-and-so, show it to us, let this human being be saved" (*Kati ni mwe, Bacite, ngatubwenesye, muntu uyo apuluke cine*). After the birth, the child receives this name. (Some say water is spurted also on the chest and the back of the woman).

Now-a-days the new born child may be given a name for trial on the day of its birth. The priority for naming the first child is given to the father. The maternal grandmother performs the rite. She spurts water on the child's chest, ties white beads round the left wrist of the child and says: "If you, father, have come back here into this world, come with luck, and live in good health" (*Kani mwe Batata, emwabwela panensonde, mwise ne mpiko, mukoikele ne makosa*).

If the child is sick or cries much, the mother goes to the diviner: He consults the axe handle, saying: "Show us who come" (*Katubwenesye mbani Kampanda waisa*). He may find out that the first name has to be withdrawn. A small piece of grass is plucked from the thatch, broken in two, and one half is stuck into the eaves. The other half is put into the hair of the child or glued with saliva vertically on the forehead. The following words are said: "You, Bakunda, we have withdrawn you, we have suspended you. We want to name somebody else" (*Mwe Bakunda, twamufumya, twamupatika, tukofwaya kuilika bambi*). Then water is spurted and beads are tied on the left wrist of the child as usual.

[1] Colson and Gluckman, 1951, p. 186.

[2] Ibid., p. 174.

A child may grow up without the name of a spirit till five or six years of age or until it gets sick. Such a child is called *Cibulesina* (Lacking a name), and is addressed as: *Kalumbwana* (Little boy), or *Kasimbi* (Little girl). It is said that such a child "has not yet received a spirit but has its own spirit from God." The child with a spirit name is called a "come-back" (*cibwela*) of So-and-so. The term used is, "to bring back the name" (*kubwesya sina*). It is said: "to bring back the father" (*kubwesya Tata*). When the spirit manifests itself as described above it is said the spirit has awakened, *mupasi wabuka*.

If a living person gives his name to a child, the name and sacrifices refer to the dead ancestor, the guardian of the first named living person. Female names go to males and conversely.

If a child is ill after being named, the diviner may give an oracle that the guardian spirit is offended: "Your maternal uncle is angry, you are cursing him, he says: Just when I have been born in their womb, there they curse me. Thus he has become angry, he says. I kill myself that you may suffer" (*Bamunsyo wenu bakalipa mukobatuka, ati penka mpumfyelwe, m'mala abo epu bakontukila. Lomba wakalipa ati nkolipaya umfwe*). White beads are put on the neck of the child and the words are said: "I implore you, my uncle, you will walk in health, we shall not repeat it, we pay the fine (*Twapapata, munsyo wanji, mulokwenda makosa, tetitubwelesyepo, twalipila*). Clapping of hands follows.

Another time when a child is sick and the name has been stabilized, the diviner may announce that the guardian spirit (or another spirit of the kin) has not yet been honoured with beer. When soaking the grain, the grandmother says: "This beer we soak, may you feel well, may you sleep well that we may give you thanks" (*Mbu bwalwa twabika, mumfweko bwino, mulale bwino tutote*).

In later life, if somebody is sick, the diviner might recommend the making of a spirit calabash. The calabash is a shrine consecrated to the worship of the guardian spirit. The making of the calabash is done together with the brewing of sacrificial beer.

The sick man soaks grain promising beer: "This beer we soak, let us see if I shall walk in health and not be sick again" (*Bwalwa mbu tukosabika, tubone nende makosa, tekulwala libili*). A brother (or sister) spurts water on the chest and the back of the sick person saying: "If this is the guardian spirit, let him show it" (*Kani ni mboswa, abwenesye*).

When pouring sacrificial beer into the spirit calabash the patient says: "This beer you wanted, we have brewed for you, we shall see, if he will walk in health and not be sick again" (*Bwalwa mbu mwali fwayile, twamukumbile, tubone ayende makosa, tekulwalapo libili*).

Analysis: Reincarnation is clearly expressed in the phraseology used in connection with the propitiating of the spirit for cursing the child. This, however, must be related to the instances of individuals who are not reincarnated and to the external testimonies. I have met one informant, a diviner of repute who undoubtedly believed in reincarnation. As a proof he adduced the fact that the spirits come to be reborn one after another and this is the way that the villages grow and are full of children. Another elder, a headman who himself kept a spirit calabash for his guardian spirit (a very rare occurrence now-a-days due to the dying out of the practice), laughed at the diviner for his naivety and credulity. Other informants explained the reincarnation parlance as *cifaniso*,[1] a picture or comparison. Another elder, a most competent informant, confessed in the end that reincarnation "is only a name". Cursing somebody is offensive to his guardian spirit only in infancy. This is expressed in the phraseology quoted above. The fact that the spirit recently entered the child and is at once insulted, increases the offence.

(e) *The Kaonde*

The diviner is consulted at the giving of a name, especially when the child is sick or when the pregnant woman has dreams. The first name of the first child is given from the father's side. The second child is named by the mother. The mother or the grandmother (paternal or maternal

[1] A Nyanja word.

according whence the name comes), ties white beads on the neck of the child, spurts water on the chest of the child and says: "You, So-and-so, walk well" (*Yobe, Ndaba, uyende jimo jimo*).

When the child is sick, it may be found by divination that the guardian spirit is only asking for the sacrifice of beer. When soaking the grain these words are spoken: "My child walk well, may all go out" (*Mwanami uyende jimo jimo, mufumepo mwense*). The same words are repeated at the sacrifice of beer.

If the child is sick and the divination shows that the name is wrongly given, it has to be withdrawn. The beads are snapped off and these words are spoken: "You child, may you go in health. It is bad to be sick" (*We mwana wende kabulongo, mwanami kwabipa kukolwa*). Another string of beads is tied on the neck and the words are said: "My child, walk in health, your name is Luyeye, who has come to be born" (*Mwanami wende bulongc, lisina lyobe Luyeye waiya kusemwa*).

Analysis: The actions and addresses show that the Kaonde institution does not differ in the essentials from the other tribes here considered. At one instance expression is used indicating reincarnation, but in another address the guardian spirit is asked to come out of the child. This shows that reincarnation parlance is merely figurative.

Melland writes: "Sometimes on divination at the naming of a child no family *mukishi* can be traced on either side, and then the *nganga* finds that the father of the child once killed an animal that had the *mukishi* of Kananga (So-and-so) in it, and that this *mukishi* is the one from whom the child's soul emanated. This child changes totem and clan. In such a case the child is called *Chiwilo;* because its clan is changed, it is of another totem, i.e. has an alien *mukishi*."[1] This seems to be a misunderstanding. The "reincarnated" spirit in no tribe under consideration influences the clan membership of the child, which is always that of the mother. I had no opportunity to discuss this question with the Kaonde, but other natives having the same matrilineal system asserted that it is inconceivable among these tribes for a child to be of another clan than that of the mother. What *Chiwilo* implies is that the guardian spirit of the child is an alien spirit. Even Melland admits in the section quoted that a *mukishi* may be reborn in the child from either side of the family, nevertheless the child does not take its clan membership from either side of the family.

THE MARAWI GROUP

(a) *The Chewa*

If a pregnant woman experiences unusually difficult labour, marital infidelities are suspected on either side. After confession the child ought to be born. If this is not the case, the diviner may find out that two spirits are contesting a name. A white fowl, signifying the colour of the spirits, is killed and blood spilled at a *msolo* tree with the words: "So-and-so, leave the child without holding it" (*Acite, tayani mwana musagwira*). Thus one spirit is removed and propitiated. There may be a case that only one spirit causes the pains. The oracle runs thus: "The spirit of the dead wants to kill the woman because she did not treat him well." The spirit is appeased with medicines.

When the navel cord drops the father chooses the name for the first born child. For the second child the mother chooses the name. When the name of the first child is to be given the mother of the child takes a fowl of the same sex as the child to her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law gives clothes to the child and names it: "Your name is So-and-so. If the child be sick tell me that I may know" (*Zina lako ni Auje. Mwana akadwala mudzindiuze kuti ine ndidziwe*). If the child becomes sick, then the name will be changed to that of a spirit. Thus the first name may be that of a living person. Another address to this effect may run thus: "I want that my name be heard in the village yard. Your name is So-and-so. I have grown old, I do not want that my name be forgotten" (*Ndifuna kuti zina langa limveke ku bwalo. Zina lako ndi Auje. Ndakalamba, sindifuna kuti zina langa lithe*).

In case of the child being sick, a diviner is

[1] Melland, 1923, p. 151.

approached but his oracle does not always involve a change of name. There may be allegations of witchcraft. An oracle concerning the guardian spirit may run thus: "The spirit has made him sick because you have forgotten to brew beer for him (the spirit)" (*Azimu amudwalitsa cifukwa kuti mwaiwala kuyengela mowa*). The elders go with beer to a *msoro* tree, pour it into a hole, and say: "Look, leave the child for us, drink this beer" (*Pepani, mutilekele mwana, mowa uyu mwani*).

Another oracle why the child is sick may be as follows: "The spirit has become angry: Why have you forgotten me, not taking my name and giving it to the child So-and-so?" *Azimu akalipa cifukwa cani mwandiwala osatenga zina langa kupatsa mwana Acite?*) The old people place the child in the middle of the house, each elder approaches the child, gives it a present and says: "You are So-and-so." The comment is: "Who has died long ago has come back, he is here" (*Amene wafwa kale abvela, ali muno*).

Another time in case a child is sick the diviner may order the name to be changed. The old name is withdrawn and a new one given. The giver of the name ties a string of white beads on the neck or the left wrist of the child saying: "All right, we have made a mistake, we have withdrawn this name, it is not his, but his is the one which we have given now, this is his. You are So-and-so" (*Cabwino, talakwa kale, tacotsa zina ili sili lake, yai, koma lake limene tateya tsopano, ndilo lili lake. Iwe ndi Auje*).

When a child is sick a diviner may find out that it has been cursed and the guardian spirit is offended, making it sick. "The spirit refuses such speaking" (*Mizimu ili kukana kunena otelo*). Beer sacrifice is prepared, white beads are tied to the left wrist of the child and the spirit is addressed: "We have brewed beer for you, leave us the child to-day" (*Takupikeni mowa, lero mutitayile*[1] *mwana*).

Sex distinction is followed in giving the names, but if a spirit asks for a name and there is no suitable subject of the same sex, the name may be given to another sex temporarily.

Honorific name: An adult Chewa, man or woman may inherit a name of a dead relative. They may be given the honour in their youth. A man inherits the name of his maternal uncle, the woman of a mother's sister. When somebody is sick, it may be found through the oracle that the spirit makes the person sick to let him know in this way that he should inherit the spirit's name. This is done also that the heir may succeed the deceased in the office of the village headman or of the head of the family, to inherit wives and wealth. The ceremony is called *kulonga nyumba*, to put the house in order. The first spirit name is not abolished but the honorific name is added and overshadows the first name. It is done at a beer party. The heir or heiress is seated on a mat in the village yard and is addressed by a good speaker: "You are not Yambani, no, but to-day you are Cokumbira" *(Iwe sindiwe Yambani, yai, koma lero iwe Cokumbira*). "You have turned into Cokumbira" *(Iwe wasanduka Cokumbira)*. The speaker may turn to the audience: "Hear ye all, he is Cokumbira, from to-day, he entered the house of Cokumbira" (*Mwerani nonse, uyu ndi Cokumbira lero, walowa nyumba ya Acokumbira*). He exhorts the people to dance and drink.

(b) *The Cikunda* (*Nyungwe*)

When the child is well and is already sitting up, it is given a name of a living person. Names are given from the father's and the mother's side. Male names are given to male children and female names to females. The grandmother (paternal or maternal according from where the name comes) puts a string of white beads on the child's neck, holds a hen and says: "Your hen, you are So-and-so" (*Nkuku yako, ndiwe Cite*). At the same time the grandmother makes the child grasp the fowl. Only a hen is offered as a symbol of fertility. When a living person bestows his name upon the child there is no divination.

When the child gets sick, the advice of a diviner is sought, and he may say: "An elder wants to give a name, that the name may come back with the child" (*Akulu afuna dzina kulamuka, dzina libwere ku mwana*). Then the giver of the name puts white beads on the child's neck, spurts

[1] *Kutaya*, to throw away, to drop.

water on the chest of the child and says: "Your name, you are So-and-so" (*Dzina lako ndiwe Ngana*).

Another time, when the child is sick, the diviner may decide that the name should be withdrawn. The string of beads is taken off the neck and then replaced with the words: "*You have come out So-and-so, now you are So-and-so, you have come*" (*Mwa coka Angana, tsapano ndiwe Ngana, mwabwera*). Water is then spurted in the usual way.

When an adult is sick, it may be found out through divination that his or her guardian spirit asks for beer. When soaking the grain the prayer is said: "You So-and-so, you have been making me sick, this is your brew, leave the man alone, may he get well, this is your beer" (*Imwe Cite, ndiwe wali kundidwazika, cemela cako, mleke muntu akale bwino, bwadwa bwako*). On the day of beer drinking the sick man pours beer into a gourd and says: "Your beer, may you drink, may the man get well" (*Bwadwa wako umwe, muntu akale bwino*).

Inheritance of the great name: When a grown up child or an adult person is sick, it may be found out on divining, that one of the clan ancestors wants the sick person to inherit the name. To do so is called *kulamuka zina likulu*, to give the great name, or *kupindza thaka*, to inherit the place. The inheritance of the great name takes place also when a person is not sick and then without divining. The sick person or the heir is seated on a mat in the yard, then the father gives the name to the boy and the mother to the daughter. The names inherited are that of the maternal grandmother for the girl, or of the maternal grand uncle for the boy. The father puts white beads on the heir's neck and addresses him: "Now you have given up your name, So-and-so has come" (*Tsapano dzina lanu mwaleka, abwelako Angana*). Then the guests give presents to the heir. In spite of the address, it is said that the birth name is still kept. It is another instance of the inaccuracy of speech, though to a certain extent it is true because the great name only will be used.

(c) *The Nsenga*

When a pregnant woman is in an unusually difficult labour, it is said that two spirits are contesting the name and through divination one spirit is chosen.

One spirit may also cause trouble in labour in order to forestall the name. After divination which ascertains the name, the elders go to a *msoro* tree, *mwavi* or *kacele*, they put down an offering of flour, *mpande* shell or beads to placate the spirit and address it: "I have come here to ask my spirit for the thing which worries me, have mercy on me" (*Na wɔra pano kuzosenga mizimu yangu cintu camene conievia munikhululukire*).

When the navel cord drops, the mother of the child goes to her mother-in-law who bestows the name of a living person from her family or if possible her own name. She puts a string of white beads round the child's neck and says: "You child, your name is Kaluwa, be strong, grow and may my name grow as well" (*We mwana, we zina lako niwe Kaluwa, ukhose, ukule, na zina langu likule nalo*). Only male names are given to boys and female names to girls. Names of living persons as well as of the dead are given.

When the child is sick, the diviner finds out the spirit which requests to bestow his name. The beads are taken from the child's neck and given back to the person who gave them with the words: "Your name does not fit" (*Zina lanu lakanga*). Then the giver of a new name suspends a string of white beads from the neck of the child and says: "You So-and-so, may you grow as has grown who had the name" (*Wewo Acite, ukule ninga anakulila amene eneco zina*).

Another address may be as follows: "Listen you, to-day we have given you a name, to-day you are Lavu, go out from this house that the child may feel well and grow" (*Umve wewo, lero tamteya zina. Lero nimwe Lavu, fumani muno ŋanda, mwana amvwe lweme, akule*).

The name may also be withdrawn when the child is sick and the reason is found by divination. The beads are taken off the child's neck and new ones put on with the words: "We have suspended the name, I have named So-and-so who is in" (*Takolobeka zina, nateya Acite ni alimo*).

A child or an adult may be made sick by his guardian spirit which is asking in this way for a beer sacrifice. This is found out by divination. The elders pour beer into a hole at a *msoro* tree saying: "This beer, Lavu, drink, that that child may be well" (*Walwa uyu, Alavu, mwani, mwana ula apole*).

The name of inheritance: A youth, boy or girl, or an adult, inherits ceremonially a name of inheritance, *zina la upyani*, a name of greatness, *zina la ukulu*. A boy or man inherits the name of his maternal granduncle, real or classificatory, and a woman that of her maternal grandmother with the same qualifications. Men may also inherit names of maternal uncles, and women those of maternal aunts. This rite is performed at the wish of the spirit which makes the prospective heir sick. A name may be inherited also without sickness and concomitant divination. The heir (or heiress) is seated on a mat in the village yard during a beer party arranged for this purpose. He or she is presented with beads which are put on the neck, or an *mpande* shell or a fowl, according to the stipulation made by the diviner. The relative who confers the name says: "To-day you are So-and-so. We have removed the old name, you all hear the name of greatness" (*Lero mweo ni Acite. Tafumyamo la kale, monse mumvele zina la ukulu*). The guests give small presents putting them into a basket. Though in the address the old name is said to be removed, it is asserted that this spirit name is kept by the heir. Cf. the same complications with the Chikunda and the Chewa.

Analysis of the Marawi institution: The salient feature is the bestowing of a name of a living person without express reference to the dead ancestor as is done with all other tribes under consideration. The use of the fowl in the rite is a symbol of the giving of a name of a living person. For the spirit of a dead ancestor the symbols are the white beads as a mark of propitiation. If the spirit wishes to bestow his name on the child, the name of the living person is returned to the giver, sometimes with the gift. On the other hand the Marawi have retained the same stages of the naming rites as used by all the other tribes dealt with here. A significant pointer to the relation of the guardian spirit to its ward is the Nsenga prayer wherein the spirit is requested to go out of the child, that the child may recover. Peculiar to the Marawi is the institution of the inheritance of a famous name in the matriliny. This inheritance is confined to the matriliny as against the guardian spirit's name which is extended to at least four clans. The purpose of the inheritance of the "great name" is again the value of the name linked with the concern of its preservation.

It should be noted that in the "great name" inheritance rite in all three Marawi tribes, expressions are consistently used for the removal of the spirit name and subsequent replacement of "the great name". The point is stressed that these expressions do not mean what they say, for in fact the spirit name remains with the ward. It is again only a figurative removal in the sense that the spirit name is superseded and overshadowed by a famous name which is kept to the fore. The "great name" is not the spirit name of the ancestor, but his adult name under which he became renowned.

CONCLUSION

The more common expression "to give a name" in a few instances is paraphrased by "to be born again". The spirit is born in the child, because the name is revived and is kept alive. This connecting link between the spirit and the heir is the basis of some identification. It is first of all a nominal identification. This nominal identification extends to the identification of interests. The interests are not controvertible but are reciprocal. The ward asks the guardian for health, the guardian makes known his requests of remembrance through worship. This peculiar concern of keeping the name alive is quite understandable when it is considered that with these people there is no other way of commemorating the dead. The names of the dead were not written anywhere and the graves were soon forgotten.

Thus their tombstones inscribed with their names are living tombstones, their descendants bearing their names with a particular relationship to the previous bearer of the name. Among the Ambo the maternal uncle may say to his niece at the final feast of the initiation that she should give his name to her child. This community of reciprocal interests and especially the nominal identification gave rise to a fuller than nominal identification: to the identification of both individuals. To some extent the native can say that the ancestor is born again. His descendant is born bearing the same name, which is "a consolation and satisfaction for the living". In this context the native is justified in saying that the name is the spirit.

It is shown that the relationship between the guardian spirit and the ward does not differ from the relationship of other ancestor non-guardian spirits to their living kin in their interaction. The spirit afflicts his living kin with sickness and bad luck in hunting. His afflictions of the living kin are not malignant, bringing death to them, except among the Chewa as regards the children. When the death of a child or an adult occurs, witchcraft is suspected. In a few instances, as has been quoted above, the so-called reincarnated spirit is requested to come out of the child and this formula has been observed among the tribes which otherwise indulge most in the reincarnation parlance, like the Lenje and the Kaonde. Thus we must conclude that the close internal interaction of the spirit and the subject is of a transitory nature.

If the Central Bantu accept a nominal reincarnation then it is obvious that the problem of the aspect of clan reincarnation does not arise and never occurs to them. If there is real reincarnation, even an attenuated one, the matrilineal clan descent is inexplicable. There is no answer as to how the reincarnated spirits of different clans somehow change their clan in the process of reincarnation, to conform to the clan of the ward which is that of its mother, especially where there is a principle, as among the Lamba, of close clan identification with the spirit. In other tribes related to the Lamba, the same relationship between the spirit and the clan is followed in practice. The nominal reincarnation is supported by the instances of "non-reincarnated" individuals among the Lenje, Ambo, Bemba and Bisa. The nominal reincarnation is reflected in the complete dynamic autonomy of the agents, the spirits and the living persons who can act one upon the other to effect even spatial distance.

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THE SYNTACTICAL NATURE OF THE DEFICIENT VERB AND ITS COMPLEMENT IN ZULU[1]

J. A. LOUW

SYNOPSIS

If Doke's definitions of the deficient verb are analysed it becomes clear that he is of opinion that: (a) the deficient verb is the main predicative, and (b) the complement is a subordinate predicative. These two points cannot be accepted if the actual use of the deficient verbs in all the different conjugational forms is closely scrutinised.

In the case of (a) it is found that deficient verbs may be used in subordinate moods like the subjunctive and participial, and in non-finite forms like the infinitive and the imperative. It is purely incidental, therefore, if a deficient verb should appear in the indicative, and in such a manner be the main predicate.

Since verbs like –fane, –mane, –phane *and –símze may be followed by the indicative in Zulu, it is impossible to contend that the predicative complement is always in a subordinate mood.*

The auxiliaries –za, –ya, –ɓa *and* –se, *which may have their own subjectival concords and have a predicative complement, must be classified separately from the deficient verbs proper, since these auxiliaries are conjugational elements and the verbs not. The auxiliaries are however, derived from verb stems and may, therefore, be grouped with the deficient verbs under the heading: Verbs of Compound Predication.*

DOKE'S DEFINITIONS OF THE DEFICIENT VERB

The term deficient verb was first used by Doke to describe those verbs formerly known as auxiliary verbs. One of his first definitions is still the best as far as his ideas about these verbs are concerned: "Deficient verbs are those requiring a subordinated predication to complete them."[2] The point which he wants to make clear here is that the predication which is required is in a subordinate mood or infinitive form of the verb. He explains the subordination of the complement in the following manner: "In *ɓalokhu ɓelima* (they keep on ploughing), *ɓelima* is in the participial subordinate mood, and *ɓalokhu* is the main predicate, but deficient in that it cannot be used as a verb standing alone. In *ngike ngifunde* (I sometimes read), *ngifunde* is subjunctive mood, the main verb being *–ke*, to do sometimes. In *sisand'ukukhuluma* (we have just spoken), *ukukhuluma* is infinitive, the object of *sisanda*, and therefore subordinate; for this reason the verb *–sanda* cannot be considered an auxiliary verb, but must be treated as the main verb, deficient in itself, and requiring a subordinate verb to complete its predication."[3]

His latest definition does not differ basically from these views: "Some Bantu languages, especially those in southern zones, augment their verbal significance by the use of deficient verbs, i.e. verbs, often defective in form, which require a subordinated predicative complement to com-

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[1] This article is mainly a discussion of the syntactical nature of the deficient verb and its complement in Zulu and refers, where necessary, to other South Eastern Bantu languages. The semantic nature of the deficient verb is just touched upon.

[2] Doke, C. M.: *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, p. 84.

[3] Doke, C. M.: *Op. cit.*, p. 84 f.

plete them."[1] Two points become apparent in these definitions, viz. Doke is of the opinion (a) that the deficient verb is the main predicate, and (b) that the complement is a subordinated predicative.

CRITICISM OF DOKE'S DEFINITIONS

The view that the deficient verb is the main verb will be brought under discussion first. All the examples of deficient verbs given by Doke to illustrate his definitions are in the indicative mood. There can, therefore, be no doubt that they are the main verbs in the compound predications of which they are part. The position is, however, not so simple, because deficient verbs may occur in any of the so-called dependent or subordinate moods, or in the imperative or infinitive. Indeed, some of these deficient verbs are used more often in one of the subordinate moods than in the indicative. The deficient verb stem *–ɓuye* is such a case. It is used more in the subjunctive than in the indicative and, especially in the Zulu spoken in Northern Natal and Zululand, it is exceptional to find it in the indicative. All the examples given in the *Zulu-English Dictionary* by Doke and Vilakazi are in the subjunctive. It is quite logical that this verb stem should be used more in the subjunctive since it usually has a consecutive significance, e.g. *Ngangena endlini ngaɓuye ngalala* (I entered the hut and then slept).

The deficient verb stem *–ze* is another one which is mostly used in the subjunctive. It may be used in the indicative, e.g. *Uzé wenza umseɓenzi owamyala ukuthi akawenze* (He did at length the work which you commanded that he must do [it]). The point is, however, that *–ze* usually appears in the subjunctive, e.g.

Uze ungiɓongele lokhukudla kuMshweshwe (You must thank Mshweshwe on my behalf for this food)
Kuyangimangalisa lokhu aze amuke (It surprises me that he leaves)
Indoda iyolima lize lishone ilanga (He will plough until the sun sets)
Dlana·ungaze uhambe (Eat before you walk)
Indoda iyalamba ingaze yadla (The man becomes hungry and yet he does not eat)

Many other deficient verbs can also be used in the subjunctive, e.g.

Uthi wogoduka adlule angagoduki (He says he will go home and then he does not go home after all)
Uthi aɓahle ɓahambe esikoleni aɓantwana (He says that it must happen that the children must go to school)
Indoda yatshala ummbila yaphinda yasikela amahhashi utshani (The man planted mealies and then cut grass for the horses)
Ngifuna ukuɓa ngiqale ngidle (I want to eat first)
Ngifuna ukuɓa asimze ahambe (I want him just to go off)
Waye wangena esifuɓeni waze wangena nothi lomkhonto (Then it entered the breast until even the shaft of the assegai entered)
Usimze aɓone akhale (He just sees and cries)
Uɓodamane uthule-nje ungamphenduli (You must just keep quiet and not answer him)
Aɓamane ɓaseɓenze endlini (They must just work in the house)
Ufuna ukuɓa ngikholise ngiyithelela inhlawulo yekhanda (He wants that I must always pay poll tax)
Kunguɓuwula ukuɓa umuntu azingele ukufa ngokuyohamba ngaleyondlela (It is foolishness that a person should seek death by going to walk along that path)

The same applies for the dependent participial mood, in which many deficient verbs may be used, e.g.

Nxa esheshe ayifulele, ingabidlika (If he thatches it (the house) too soon, it may collapse)
Nxa ɓengahle ɓahambe ɓaye edolobeni kungaɓa ukuphela kwendaɓa (If they really go to town it may be the end of the case)
Uma eke asale ukhathele (If he stays behind once, he is tired)
Uma ecishe afe ngokuphuza lelikhambi yindaɓa yakhe (If he nearly dies by drinking this herbal decoction it is his affair)

[1] Doke, C. M.: *Outline Grammar of Bantu*, p. 50.

Uthe eqéde efika ßese kuvaliwe esitolo (Just as soon as he arrived, then the store was closed)
Nxa esingé eza ßazombonisa (If he continues to come they will show him)
Nxa edimane ehamba-nje ngizokumßona (If he just walks I shall see him)
Nxa engaßange ethola amaßele kulamasimu angiyukuwathenga (If he has never harvested millet on these lands I shall not buy them)
Nxa uyilokhu udlala ngomlilo uzakuska (If you continue to play with fire you will get burnt)
Uma umntwana esand'ukuzalwa ungamshiyi nezingane zodwa (If a child is just born you must not leave it with young children only)
Uma evama ukwenza iziphosiso akakafundi kahle (If he often makes mistakes he has not yet learned properly)

It ought to be clear that in these examples where deficient verbs are used in the subjunctive and participial moods, one cannot say that the particular deficient verb is the main verb in the compound predication, because these two moods usually have a subordinate nature. In some cases the subjunctive is not always used as a subordinate mood, e.g. *Ungahambi!* (Do not walk). This does not mean, however, that it cannot be called a subordinate mood, because it usually has that function.[1]

A deficient verb can also be used in the infinitive, which is a verbal form, but not a verb, and cannot form the main statement of a sentence, e.g.

Aßathandi ukußuye ßaßuye (They do not want to return again)
Mina, ngifuna ûkufike ngihlale (I, I wish to be allowed to sit)
Ngicela ukuke ngivakashe (I ask to visit once)
Nakhu! Ukucishe ngixaßane nomuntu mina ngiyakuzonda (Behold, I hate nearly to quarrel with a person)
Lengane ayifuni ukumane ithunywe-nje inganikwa mali (This child does not like just to be sent without being given money)
Ukuvama useßenza kulungile (Always to work is good)

The next point that must be taken into consideration is that many deficient verb stems may be used as imperatives, which are really verbal interjections and cannot be classified as finite forms. In such cases they do not function as the main statements of the compound predications, in the same manner as do deficient verbs which are in the indicative mood, for in the indicative mood the deficient verbs are really verbs. Quite a number of deficient verbs may be used in the imperative, e.g.

Dlulani nicule phezu kokuba ßengafuni! (Just sing in spite of the fact that they do not want (it)!)
Qala upheke anduba uhambe; (Cook first before you go!)
Dimane udle-nje ungamlindi! (Just eat, do not wait for him!)
Fane udle noma ungalambile! (Just eat though you are not hungry!)

According to Doke the complement must be in a subordinate mood, as he has put it in his definitions. He does not say anything about those examples where the deficient verbs may be followed by the indicative and potential moods. Both these moods are generally used as the main statements of sentences. There may be some doubt whether the potential is really a mood and not just an implication formed by an infix, i.e. *–nga–*, as the progressive implication is formed by the infix *–sa–*; but that does not lessen the fact that a verb in the potential mood can be the main statement, though there is also a participial form of the potential. In the latter case it is naturally in a dependent mood and, therefore, subordinate. But, as in the following example where the potential mood is used in the principal clause of a sentence, there cannot be any doubt that it is the main predicate of the sentence: *Angahamba uma engaguli* (He can walk if he is not ill)

It does not happen very often in Zulu that a deficient verb can be followed by the potential, but *–ze* and *–ngá* may be followed by this mood, e.g.

Aßantu aßaze ßangaya nganhlanye ßengemanzi (People can never go to one side – they are not water)
Wangá ungawa umuthi! (O, that the tree might fall!)

[1] Doke, C. M.: *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, p. 203 f.

Then there is a group of deficient verb stems which have more or less the same meanings, and these stems may be followed by the indicative when they signify "merely" or "just", viz. *–símze*, *–fane*, *–mane* and *–phane: Umfana umane uyalwa-nje* (The boy simply fights). Any of these stems may be used here instead of *–fane*.

If all the different stems for Zulu are taken into consideration, the list of stems that may be followed by the indicative, or for that matter by the potential, is not very impressive. In the other two Nguni languages the position is about the same. In Swazi *–fane* and *–mane* are used in similar manner, followed by the indicative (vide Ziervogel: *A Grammar of Swazi*, §169 and 185 [b]). The position is, therefore, that a certain limited number of deficient verbs may be followed by the indicative, and in any definition this must be taken into consideration.

In the Sotho languages it is not exceptional for a deficient verb to be followed by the indicative. Some examples from Southern Sotho may illustrate this:

O-bile o-rata ho-bina (He even loves to sing)
O-bile o-sebelitse (He has even worked (at length)
Ha-ke-bile ha-kea-bina (I did not sing at all)
O-hlile oa-tsamaea (He really walks)
O-boetse o-fihlile (He has returned again)

Since a deficient verb may be followed by the indicative mood its complement is not always subordinate; therefore Doke's definition is not quite correct. If a deficient verb is in the indicative and followed by another verb in the indicative the two verbs are, therefore, co-ordinate. (And one can hardly call the verb following on the deficient one a complement. In my opinion it is best to call such a verb a supplementary verb.)

THE COMPLEMENTARY PREDICATIVE

According to Doke's definitions it is necessary that the deficient verb should be followed by a complementary predicative. This is usually the case, but in a few instances it is found that a deficient verb may be used alone. In Zulu the subjectival concord of such a deficient verb is usually elided, e.g. *Zange!* (Never!); *Ngeke!* (Never!). This is, however, only a *secondary derived syntactical* use of the deficient verb, because a complementary predicative is implied in such cases, e.g.

Angizange ngihambe (I have never walked)
Ngingeke ngihambe (I shall never walk)

Such examples of the use of a deficient verb alone need not, in general terms, invalidate Doke's contention that a deficient verb must have a complementary predicative.

It is of importance to classify those verbs which may possess some but not all of the characteristics of deficient verbs, separately from the real deficient verbs. Thus *–phike* may have a complementary predicative in Zulu, e.g. *Uphike uchachaze-nje endlini yomuntu* (You are just doing what you like in the house of the person). But this verb may also be used without a predicative complement with the same meaning as in the sentence above, e.g. *Ungaphika ngokuhamba-nje* (You can just walk). In such a case the verb has only some of the characteristics of a deficient verb.

The predicative complement need not always follow directly after the deficient verb, e.g. *Zadlula izinja zadla izinyane elifile noma zazingalambile* (The dogs ate the dead little animal after all, although they were not hungry).

–ya, *–za*, *–be* AND *–se* AND THE DEFICIENT VERBS

The auxiliaries *–ya* and *–za* of the future tense can be compared with those deficient verbs followed by the infinitive, as will be seen from the following examples:

Ngisand'ukufika (*Ngisanda'kufika*) (I have just arrived) *Ngivama ukuhamba* (I am accustomed to walk) *Ngizakuthengisa izinkomo* (I shall sell the cattle) *Ngiyakuhamba* (I shall walk)

It must be clear that syntactically there is very little difference between a verbal auxiliary followed by the infinitive and a deficient verb followed by the same verbal form. In both cases the auxiliary with its subjectival concord and complementary infinitive, and the deficient verb and its infinitive, form a compound predicative, i.e.

a predicative consisting of more than one basic conjugational form. The only difference is that the auxiliaries are used in the conjugation of the verb and the deficient verbs not. Indeed, the auxiliaries form a far closer union with their complementary infinitive if the contractions which they may undergo are taken into consideration, e.g. *Ngiyohamba* (*Ngohamba*) (I shall walk); *Ngizohamba* (I shall walk).

Because of these contractions one can conclude that these auxiliaries have become completely "grammaticalized" in their use as conjugational formatives. Since they do appear with subjectival concords, and often also in their original forms, viz. *–ya* and *–za*, it is still possible to refer to them as *verb stems* used as auxiliaries with their own subjectival concords. The stems *–ɓe* and *–se* are used in very much the same way when they form compound tenses. When the subjectival concord contains a consonant, the auxiliary drops its own concord, and it is retained only in the secondary complementary part of the verb, e.g. *Ɓengiɓona* (I was seeing); *Sengiyaɓona* (Now I see). If the concord consists only of a vowel the stems *–ɓe* and *–se* lose their terminating vowel *–e* so that only their root consonants are found, e.g. *Uɓuɓona* (You were seeing); *Usuyaɓona* (Now you see).

It is quite clear that the verb stem *–ɓa*, from which *–ɓe* has been derived, has been completely "grammaticalized" in the conjugation of the verb and can be treated as an auxiliary that may appear with its own concord, because it is the presence of *–ɓe* that denotes the immediate past continuous tense. However, *–ɓe* can still be considered as a verb stem, for it may be used with its own concord, although it is then only a shortened form, viz. *–ɓ–*<*–ɓe*. In Xhosa *–ɓe* may appear in its full verb form, e.g. *Ndiɓe ndiɓona* (I was seeing); *Ndaɓe ndiɓona* (I was seeing).

In such a case I am of the opinion that the auxiliary with its subjectival concord is from a morphological point of view a complete verb, and may be called an auxiliary verb, seeing that it is used in the conjugation of the verb to form tenses. It is termed an auxiliary verb not because it may have any syntactical or semantic relationship with the auxiliary verbs in the European languages, but because it *helps* to form tenses. But as a verb its semantic content has been completely "grammaticalized", which is especially illustrated in the case where *–ɓe* is left out in the remote past continuous tenses. Here its presence may only be implied by its subjectival concord and the formative *–a–* of the remote past tense, e.g. *Ngangihamba* (I was walking).

The stem *–se* is different from the auxiliaries *–za*, *–ya* and *–ɓe*, because it does not form a tense but an implication. It shows a greater relationship with the deficient verbs because it also adds a further implication to the verb when used. This becomes apparent when its meanings are compared with those of certain deficient verbs, e.g. *–ɓuye* means *again* and *then* and *–se* may mean *then*, *now*, *already*. For that matter the etymological equivalent of *–se* in Sotho may be a deficient verb, thus in *Tswana* it appears as *–setse*, which is the perfect stem of *–sala*, e.g. *Ke-setse ke-dirile* (I have already worked). Here *ke-setse* is morphologically a verb, and since it must be followed by a complementary one, it is deficient.

It is evident in the case of *–se* in Zulu that it is also a contraction of the perfect stem *–sele* < *sala*, for in Xhosa the form *–sel'–* may be found if it is followed by the subjectival concord *e–* of the participial mood, e.g. *Usel'eɓona* (Now he sees) Here the subjectival concord *e–* has by its presence taken the place of the terminating vowel *–e* of *–sele*, and thus the *–l–* of *–sele* has been retained.

However, *–se* is used in so contracted a form in Zulu and Xhosa, when compared to its original form of *–sele*, that it can be considered a purely "grammaticalized" contracted verb stem which functions as an auxiliary in the conjugation of the verb, i.e. *–se* has been reduced in function to a formative. No other deficient stem is contracted to such an extent. Furthermore the wide incidence of its use with the verb points clearly to its conjugational function, but this is purely a secondary consideration.

I consider, therefore, that *–za*, *–ya*, *–ɓe* and *–se* are conjugational auxiliaries of the verb that

may sometimes appear in uncontracted forms as morphologically complete verbs with auxiliary function, but that they should be classified separately from the deficient verbs, because the latter are not used in the conjugation of the verb as such. There is, however, a relationship between these auxiliaries and the deficient verbs, because both do appear as verbs with subjectival concords and stems followed by a complementary verb. Compare for example the following sentences:

Ndiße ndißona (I was seeing) (Xhosa)
Angißange ngihamba (I never walk) (Zulu)

Because there is a syntactical relationship in which the auxiliary with its subjectival concord is followed by its complementary verb, and the deficient verb is followed by its own complementary verb, it is necessary to classify them together. Since these auxiliaries that may have their own subjectival concords help to form a compound predication, and the deficient verb and its complementary verb also form one word-group which is a compound predication, their verb stems ought to be classified as *Verb Stems of Compound Predication.*

CONCLUSION

The following conclusions may be drawn from this discussion:

(1) Since deficient verbs may be used in subordinate moods like the subjunctive and participial, and in non-finite forms like the infinitive and imperative, their appearance in the indicative is purely incidental. This is therefore no criterion for a definition.

(2) Since the occurrence of a deficient verb in isolation, as in the case of *zange and ngeke*, is only a secondary derived usage, such usage of a deficient verb does not necessarily invalidate Doke's definition that there must be a predicative complement, and may, therefore, be ignored in a general formulation of a definition or in ascertaining the basic characteristics of deficient verbs.

(3) Since verbs like *–fane, –mańe, –phane* and *–sɨmze* may be followed by the indicative, and others like *–ze* and *–ngá* may be followed by the potential, which moods may also be used in main statements of sentences, the complementary predicative is not always subordinate to the deficient verb. Moreover, in the Sotho group it is not the exception to the rule that the deficient verb may be followed by the indicative and potential moods. Thus a characteristic of the deficient verb is that its complement need *not always be subordinate.*

(4) The auxiliaries *–za, –ya, –be* and *–se*, which may have their own subjectival concords, are conjugational elements, but the deficient verbs are not. They have, however, a relationship in so far that all are derived from verb stems which are used in compound predications, and they may therefore be classified as *Verbs of Compound Predication.*

If a definition of a deficient verb must be given, the syntactical considerations of Doke should, therefore, be ignored; but the fact that a deficient verb cannot be used alone must be kept in mind. The reason why the deficient verb cannot be used alone is because of its semantic content. Its meaning is of such a nature that another verb must follow it, e.g.

Wake wahamba (Sometimes he walked)
Ngilima lize lishone (I plough until the sun sets)
Ngicishé ngawa (I nearly fell)

In these sentences the meaning of the deficient verb defines the complement in more precise terms, and thereby adds a further implication to it. A study of the deficient verb is, therefore, a semantic one and if a definition of it is to be given it may be somewhat as follows: A deficient verb [1] is a verb which, because of the nature of its meaning cannot stand alone, but must generally be followed by another predicative, the meaning of which is defined in more precise terms by the deficient verb itself.

[1] It is known that *lokhu* and *le* may be used in a deficient predicative manner so that the question arises whether it is not better to speak of a "deficient predicative". Since it is only these two pronouns which are used in such a manner, I consider it rather pedantic to change the term on these grounds. Moreover, the conjugation of *lokhu* and *le*, when used deficiently, is very much that of a verb.

A NOTE ON THE NGASA

H. A. FOSBROOKE*

A CURIOUS ethnic relic exists on the north-east slopes of Kilimanjaro in the Useri chiefdom of the Chagga area. The people concerned are named by the surrounding Bantu *Ngasa* (*Mŋgasa* singular and *Waŋgasa* plural) but call themselves *Oŋgamo*, of which *Onamonye* is singular. Their main habitat is in the lower areas below that utilized by the Chagga and they are mostly concentrated in the headman's area called Ubetu. In this area 353 names in the tax register out of the total of 953 are said to represent *Ngasa*. I have no record of the smaller numbers said to live in adjacent areas but the above figures show that the group must be represented by at least 1,000 individuals.

This group was known to Sir Charles Dundas who records as follows on page 42 of his work *Kilimanjaro and its People:*

> "Another people who were perhaps to be found on the mountain before the actual settlement of Kilimanjaro commenced, were the inhabitants of the locality Gasseni, the Ngasa, who still regard themselves as a distinct tribe and speak a language quite unlike any Chagga dialect. They claim to have been on the mountain since time immemorial and deny that they are related to any other tribe. A few specimens of their language, which I submitted to Mr. A. C. Hollis, are held by him to be a bastard form of Masai (i), and since the Masai may have inhabited the plains below Kilimanjaro for many centuries, it is quite probable that a section settled at Gasseni have remained there to this day."

Footnote (i) reads as follows:

> "Mr. Hollis suggests that the Ngasa may be related to the Ilkunono Masai smiths, but the Ngasa are not smiths."

During a short visit there I was able to record some vocabulary; should anyone want to follow this up, my informant was Anton s/o Saronye, an elder in Useri Native Court.

VOCABULARY

(a) *Miscellaneous*

ENGLISH	NGASA	
	Singular	*Plural*
arm	nahena	nahek
bad	eviaho	
big	kuto	
calf	olelere	oleleru
cloth	okia	okiani
country	oruka	
cow	nahashe	nahashahu
day	loseimei	osamitin
door	nahikat	
eland	sirua	
elephant	oltome	
good	minai	
head	nashe	
house	nahaje	nahadike
knife	naŋashe	
leg	nakeju	nakeje
leopard	ohaha	
lion	ogatan	
man	otuŋani	okiŋa
many	kume	
night	nasharei	nasharien
ox	okiteŋ	omonye
shield	nahou	
small	kiti	
spear	navere	navera
uncircumcised youth	omsaŋone	omsaŋii

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unmarried girl	nataŋai	nataŋisi
warrior	oleeni	olea
water	nashivi	
wild dog	nasue	
wildebeest	oeŋgat	
woman	naworite	naworinyo

(*b*) *Numerals*

one	naboiete
two	are
three	okuni
four	oŋwan
five	imeet
six	miyet o naboieta
seven	miyet o are
eight	miyet o kuni
nine	miyet o oŋwan
ten	tomon

(*c*) *Phrases*

a bad man	otuŋani oviaho
a bad woman	naworite eviaho
a big man	otuŋani kuto
a big woman	naworite kuto
a big spear	navere kuto

It is obvious that a number of these words are Masai, but others I have been unable to identify. Some aspects of construction, however, are undoubtedly close to Masai, the nouns showing the familiar division into genders, as in Masai, with which the adjective agrees, e.g. *otuŋani oviaho* (a bad man), *naworite eviaho* (a bad woman). Concerning the plurals, however, *o–* or *ol–* frequently occur as prefixes instead of the typical Masai *i–* or *il–*. (The latter language uses *ol–* as its standard masculine singular prefix with *o–* before *s* or *e*). I thought at first this would be due to my informant's pronounciation but an opportunity occurred for checking with another informant who confirmed the *o–* as a plural form.

The numerals are particularly interesting in that 6, 7, 8 and 9 are formed by the combination of 5 and 1, 5 and 2, 5 and 3, and 5 and 4, instead of having special words for these numerals. Note the method of forming the numerals 6 to 9 in a number of Nilotic and Nilo–hamitic languages:

(*a*) *Using special words for* 6, 7, 8, *and* 9:
Masai,[1] Somali,[1] Lotuho,[1] Nandi,[1] Barabaig,[2] Bari,[1] Dinka,[1] Madi,[1] Mosiro,[2] Aramanik.[2]

(*b*) *Using composite forms for* 6, 7, 8 *and* 9:
Ngasa,[2] Turkana,[1] Suk,[1] Ja-luo,[1] Acholi.[1]

This evidence is admittedly flimsy and further work is obviously required on the subject, but it does suggest that Ngasa is neither a bastard form of Masai, as suggested by Hollis, nor is it a remnant of a Nandi-type language, such as might have been left in the area by the passage of the Mosiro or Aramanik Dorobo to their present habitat in the Ruvu Valley and southern Masailand. For it will be noted that both these groups have special words for the numerals 6 to 9. If Ngasa were a "bastard form of Masai" – which term can only indicate crossing with some other language – what other Nilotic or Nilo-hamitic language is there in the area from which it could have assimilated such word forms? The answer is: none known. If it were a splinter group from the Nandi or Masai groups, it would be unlikely to revert to a more primitive form whilst the main body of the group continued to use specialized numerals.

At first sight, then, it would appear that in the Ngasa we have a relic of some early forerunners of the Nilo-hamitic intrusion into this area, representative neither of the Masai or of the Nandi tribes. For this reason it is suggested that the Ngasa form a particularly suitable group for study.

[1] See Hollis, C., *The Maṣai: Their Language and Folklore*, page xxvi.
[2] Data from local informants.
[3] See Maguire, R. A. J., "Il-Torobo", *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 25, 1948, p. 20.

BOOK REVIEWS

African Worlds. Edited by DARYLL FORDE. Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples. (O.U.P. for International African Institute; 1954). xvii, 243 pp. 30*s*.

One has only to open this book to discover the immediate affinity with its two notable predecessors on other aspects of African life – *African Political Systems*, 1940, and *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, 1950. Combined with these two compendia, it helps to present quite a formidable literature on tribal life in Africa, although of course much remains to be done on the systematic ethnography of individual tribes.

In spite of all the diversity of interest of the contributors, it seems to emerge that at least most of the African cosmological systems discussed in this volume are essentially pragmatic. Their main function is apparently to provide means of controlling, or at least practical justification for, that class of activities in the world environment to which commonsense, or even magical, techniques are not applicable or effective. These cosmologies are not, in the main, systems of thought devised either for the satisfaction of curiosity about the nature of the universe, or in response to a mental demand for order out of chaos. The word cosmology used with reference to African societies must evidently be divested, therefore, of many of its metaphysical overtones as we know it.

It is perhaps significant that the atomistic nature of African cosmological beliefs appears to have worried some of the distinguished French-speaking contributors to this book more than anyone else. M. Mercier rather anxiously assures us, speaking of the Fon of Dahomey, that "the variety of contributed elements, more or less completely assimilated, the regional variants, the multiplicity of orthodoxies, constitute the chief obstacles to a synthesis". Yet all the appearances go to show that synthesis is not a function of this cosmology at all. Nevertheless, there is a valuable account in this essay, almost in passing, of the way in which the Dahomean dualistic conception of the universe in terms of pairs of divine beings is reflected in the traditional political structure.

Passing to the extreme, there is only one case in the book, that of the highly intellectual, not to say mathematical Dogon of the French Sudan – as described by Prof. Griaule and Dr. Dieterlen – where an African people might be conceived to have a sophisticated cosmology in our philosophical sense. "Their conception of the universe is based, on the one hand, on a principle of vibrations of matter . . . " On the other hand, this account contains a useful section on the anthropomorphic layout of the Dogon house and village.

Having materialist and *ad hoc* functions, many of these African cosmologies are naturally piecemeal, and do not constitute internally coherent systems. This last fact is clearly stated by Prof. Daryll Forde on the first page of his editorial introduction, and is reiterated in one form or another by many of his contributors. One might say further that metaphysical problems such as that of the first cause, or even the factor of coherence itself, are played down in such cosmologies, as having no pragmatic significance. This is illustrated by the remarks of Prof. and Mrs. Krige that "The Lovedu are not given to speculation about first beginnings or final causes", and again, "What is significant . . . is not the origin but the maintenance of the order of nature."

This book contains every variety of study, from virtually straight ethnography to the highly intellectualized system already mentioned. Mrs. Douglas, on the Lele of the Belgian Congo, describes the paramount religious significance of the forest and the hunt, and shows in an interesting way how village corporate unity derives from religious institutions. The late Dr. Günter Wagner, after writing of various cosmogenic items in the universe of the Abaluyia of Kenya, tells us that "Turning . . . to the earth, we find that its various

phenomena command interest only inasmuch as they directly affect the well-being of the individual or the tribal community". Kenneth Little, who points out the dangers of attempting to systematize the practical cosmology of the Mende of Sierra Leone, goes on to a useful account, *inter alia*, of secret societies which are controllers of morals in the interests of the community. Dr. Lienhardt, basing his work mainly on literary sources, is principally concerned with the myths of origin and traditional figures of Shilluk cosmology, and his essay contains some fine writing on the nature of Juok, the greatest spirit. Dr. Busia emphasizes the ancestor-orientation of Ashanti religion, and draws important distinctions between its pragmatic and ethical content, and between its cosmology and that of a superimposed Christianity.

The sub-title of this work includes the term social values, but the studies under this head are on the whole disappointing. Apart from a few remarks by Lienhardt on the Shilluk values of cleverness and success, some notable writing by the Kriges on Lovedu ethical values, and a good section by J. J. Maquet on the cultural and character values of the Banyarwanda of East Africa, which are well-defined in this society, there is little inspiration on social ideals or any other aspect of the subject. It is true that social values in terms of "worthwhileness" (following Nadel) are adequately treated by Little in his essay ; yet there is obviously an important sense of the term which cannot be reduced to the worth of social acts in themselves, but is concerned with the value of their ends or their consequences to the society at large. The varied treatment of social values in different essays brings home with some force the fact that no commonly accepted approach or instrument for this study is yet to hand.

Taken as a whole, however, this book is a substantial contribution to the religious literature on African tribes. Its appearance is especially welcome at a time when several distinguished anthropologists are known to have works on religion in the course of preparation ; and it may well herald a considerable resurgence of interest in the religious as against the kinship or political activities of primitive peoples. D. H. READER.

Primitive Heritage. An Anthropological Anthology. Edited, with an introduction, by MARGARET MEAD and NICOLAS CALAS. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd.; 1954, xxx, 592. pp.) 21*s.*

The Institutions of Primitive Society. A Series of Broadcast Talks by E.E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, RAYMOND FIRTH, E. R. LEACH, J. G. PERISTIANY, JOHN LAYARD, MAX GLUCKMAN, MEYER FORTES, GODFREY LIENHARDT. (Basil Blackwell; 1954). viii, 107. pp. 7*s.* 6*d.*

These two compendia, so very different from one another in every other way, have in common the fact that they were both compiled to attract the general public, and are therefore – implicitly in one case and explicitly in the other – not to be taken too seriously by the anthropological profession. The best that can be done is to consider whether the authors have been successful in their intention.

Primitive Heritage favours the sledgehammer technique. Whereas in bygone days the cry was "armchair anthropology", here we have *bedside* anthropology. In their zeal to convince the masses that this is as good to read as any crime omnibus, the publishers have girded their volume with an eye-catching yellow jacket. Sprinkled generously over it are such captions as "How to become a sorcerer" (an inoffensive extract from Reo Fortune's *Sorcerers of Dobu*), "Bringing a corpse to life", and "The goddess of lust".

Setting aside outward appearances (which one ventures to predict will sell the book), its success is reasonably assured by the well-selected anthology within. Margaret Mead sounds a timely note in her preface, where she says: "Together (with Nicolas Calas), I realized, we might put together a book that would restore the sense of wonder earlier generations drew from accounts of primitive and exotic men." This she has ably done, and is supported by her co-compiler, who in his foreword illustrates what he calls climax with an ingenious comparison between Eliot's *Cocktail Party* and Plato's *Banquet*.

The book is not entirely confined to the work of anthropologists, but has everything from Hero-

dotus to Tom Harrisson. The latter tells of his arrival to witness puberty rites at Botowut, a desolate, dripping pocket in the mountains, deep in dew and mist. The house in which he was to sleep buzzed and zoomed with bluebottle flies in the darkness. Into the roof, he cheerfully continues, were stuck the swarthy heads of dead men with cobweb hair. The natives meanwhile must have been making the night hideous by swinging bull-roarers, producing noises in coconut shells filled with water, and blowing on *nalawan* horns. "A fine range of ghostly sound . . . ", comments the anthropologist.

The selection is not confined to descriptive passages. Apart from familiar analyses such as Benedict's *Configurations of Culture*, there is an essay of great theoretical value by Dorothy Lee on "Being and Value in Primitve Society", taken from the *Journal of Philosophy*. This refers to the category of being as conceived by the Trobrianders: a static, non-chronological, absolute notion which sets our own dynamic time-embroiled concept in high relief.

Among minor criticisms must be raised, inevitably, the question of why certain passages were included: why, for example, C. M. Doughty's *Last Night at Teyma* from *Arabia Deserta?* Also, why do the sixteen parts under which the selections fall range back and forth in so extraordinary a way – "The Scene" separated from "The Daily Round" by sections on childhood and marriage, not to mention the strange category "Art, Thought and Sport". Reference is not made easier by the absence of an index, however difficult this might have been to arrange, in a book which according to the dust cover contains "enough material in it to last, as a bedside book, for a year." However, such difficulties are, so to speak, endemic to anthologies, and do little to detract from the enjoyment of this one.

In contrast to its flamboyant contemporary, *The Institutions of Primitive Society* is a quiet little volume, produced primarily for that distressingly small percentage of the public who listen to the B. B. C. Third Programme; at least, this is the impression produced from having heard the talks over the radio, and from a first reading of the book. In his introduction, Prof. Evans-Pritchard tells us that it is the duty of anthropologists to present to the reading public from time to time the conclusions they have reached and the problems they are seeking to solve. Further, he precludes professional criticism by pointing out, justly, that statements made in the talks would have been more guarded were it not that a large subject had to be discussed in twenty minutes, and that the material had not been intended for purely academic audience.

If these talks do not in fact reach an appreciable section of the general public, and yet are not intended for anthropological criticism, then what is their value? Mainly, as Evans-Pritchard indicates, they record a fairly representative selection of authoritative (British) anthropological opinion. There are valuable viewpoints to be culled from the individual contributions: the introducer himself against speculation in the anthropology of religion; Firth on economic values; Leach on primitive art in relation to the audience for which it is designed; Peristiany on the distinction between primitive and civilized law in terms of the transcending of mere sectional interests to that of the community as a whole; Layard on incest as a social crime within family life; Gluckman on the inherent tendency of political groups to segment and then have cross-cutting alliances; Fortes on mind and culture, which he pleasingly defines as the social outfit of a community; and Lienhardt, who underlines that we are obliged to represent primitive modes of thought in the logical constructs which we have been brought up to use.

It will be evident, even from this brief enumeration, that the rigorous inductive method associated with the British school of anthropology can hardly lend itself readily to interpretation for laymen, particularly through the medium of a series of short broadcasts. The wholistic and functional treatment exhibited in *The Institutions of Primitive Society* is in sharp and generally unfamiliar contrast with the atomistic, descriptive presentation of rare and piquant customs, such as can be found in *Primitive Heritage*. From the public's point of view, the choice is obvious.

D. H. Reader.

Economic Development and Tribal Change
Edited by AUDREY I. RICHARDS. (Heffer, Cambridge; 1954). 301 pp. 30*s*.

The migration of labour in one form or another is a phenomenon widespread in Africa. In many areas it has become a tradition not readily responsive to legal control. It also leads inevitably to the growth of social problems resulting from broken families at one end and a host of strange men at the other. This book describes in plentiful detail the situation in Uganda where economic issues underlie the present discontent.

The Ganda, the largest tribe in the protectorate, enjoy enough land to make their cultivation of cotton profitable. They therefore stay on their holdings, leaving wage labour to immigrants from neighbouring areas. The thickly populated trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi, part of the Belgian Congo, is the main source of the migrant labour, which has streamed into Uganda for many years. This type of migration differs from that familiar on the Rand mines or in the copper belt of Rhodesia. It is casually employed, mainly in agriculture, by Africans and others who need more hands than their own kinsmen can provide. The conflicting interests of land-owners, tenants, share-croppers, and labourers have produced social tensions causing anxiety to the Administration. The situation seems likely to grow worse, not better, as the new policy of industrialization takes effect in Uganda. The shortage of labour may become serious, with peasant cultivators hardly able to compete with industry for the supplies available.

The five writers would have jointly presented a clearer picture if they had sternly subdued the mass of detail they collected. As it is, even the patient reader is apt to miss the wood for the trees. The book is also too timid about making the constructive proposals that one hopes to get from writers with the knowledge here displayed. J. L.

Die Naturel in die Suid-Afrikaanse Landbou.
Referate Gelewer op die Vyfde Jaarvergadering van die Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede. (SABRA, 1954). 10*s*.

SABRA was inaugurated some five years ago, not merely to provide an Afrikaans equivalent of the South African Institute of Race Relations, but specifically to propagate a particular viewpoint on racial affairs in South Africa. That viewpoint is defined in the present volume by Mr. J. J. Fouché, the Administrator of the Orange Free State, who gave the opening address at Bloemfontein. According to Mr. Fouché, SABRA stands for "aparte ontwikkeling" in contrast to the "geleidelike integrasie" preached by the "uitgesproke liberaliste".

If we define an idealist as one who follows an idea in the face of contradictory facts, then the members of SABRA are idealists of a high order. This is borne out in the present volume by the marked contrast between the statements by the chairman, Professor G. B. A. Gerdener, as to how things should go, and the stubborn facts presented in papers by various experts, as to how things actually are going, in the field of agriculture. In particular the papers by Mr. S. J. J. de Swardt "*Die Behoefte aan die Beskikbaarheid van Arbeid in die Landboubedryf*" and Mr. S. P. van Wyk "*Die Produktiwiteit van Naturelleplaasarbeiders en die Meganisering van die Landbou*" emphasize the growing indispensability of the African agricultural worker in (white) agriculture.

Briefly the situation is as follows: Since 1947 there has been a rapid development both quantitatively and qualitatively in South African farming. This has been made possible by a steady growth in the number of Africans employed and by increasing mechanisation. With regard to the first, evidence is presented in a number of papers that there has been a distinct improvement in the wages and conditions of Native farm labour. Faced with a chronic shortage of labour, farmers have just had to make improvements. The native farm labourer remains the most depressed member of the South African working class, but that his status is steadily rising there can be no reasonable doubt.

Mechanisation, once advocated as a means of dispensing with Native labour, has had no such effect. On the contrary, in the vast majority of cases it is the African who has been called in to

operate the new machines. To-day Africans are becoming tractor-drivers, and not only drivers but repairers and operators of the dozens of gadgets considered essential on the modern mechanised farm.

Agriculture was, from the beginning, excluded from the scope of the Mines and Works (Colour Bar) Act of 1926. How much stronger would be the opposition of the farmers to-day to any attempt to impose a labour colour bar on the platteland? Of nearly eight million Africans in the Union, some two and a quarter million are now living on white farms. They have the prospect, many of them, of becoming skilled workers. No white trade unions can interfere and no government dependent on the farmers' vote will pass legislation to stop them handling machinery. Mr. de Swardt ends his paper on what must have been, for the congress, a distinctly mournful note. The Union, he says, produces just about enough food to feed its population. It seems at the moment that only the present system can provide for its growing needs. The Bantu are becoming an ever more permanent and essential part of the (white) farming areas. In many cases they appear as skilled workers and foremen who direct labour and exercise a considerable degree of responsibility. "Dit is duidelik", he concludes, "dat die huidige tendens van landbou-ontwikkeling op die plase van die blankes op 'n noue ekonomiese integrasie van blank en Bantoe in die landbou afstuur." EDWARD ROUX.

Incwadi YesiZulu Yaßafundi Ьezikole ezincane Neziphakeme. S. D. NKOBI (Ndlovu). (Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, Johannesburg; 1954). vi, 153 pp. 9*s*.

This book is designed to fill the dire need in Bantu schools and colleges for a grammatical study of Zulu through the medium of the vernacular. The intention behind the production of this book is good, but the execution thereof can only be regarded as highly unsatisfactory. The material has been culled from two main sources: The major portion comes from Professor C. M. Doke's *Text-Book of Zulu Grammar*. This is not referred to as such, but mention is made in the preface of ". . . books of Zulu grammar, like the one written by Prof. Doke . . .", from which the author has ". . . scooped out things which I see to be of help to students . . ." Some portions of the book are so close to being direct translations of corresponding passages in Doke's text-book, or precis thereof, that some more formal acknowledgement of this source of information is called for. One wonders, indeed, whether Prof. Doke's permission for the reproduction of material from his book was obtained – certainly there is no acknowledgement of such permission. At the same time, the omission of certain important aspects of Zulu grammar which Doke has dealt with at some length, e.g. the conjugation of copulatives, detracts from the general value of the book. Another source from which the author has drawn inspiration for the exercises which he gives on each chapter and the sections on punctuation, synonyms, etc., is the current English grammars. The inclusion of such material is necessary and useful, but he is not always fortunate in his choice of items culled from this source. For example, in the exercises based on Chapter III (The Noun), the student is asked for the masculine, feminine and neuter gender of certain nouns. This aspect is hard to reconcile with the author's heavy reliance on Doke, who has been one of the foremost exponents of grammatical analysis based on the natural genius of the Bantu languages, and not on the lines of classical grammars of European languages. Sex gender as a feature of grammatical analysis has a prominent place in the latter, but is quite foreign to Zulu.

More disturbing, however, is evidence of serious deficiencies in the author's knowledge of the structure and analysis of the language which he is handling. Two examples will suffice:

(a) Under the heading of "Perfect Manner" of the present indicative tense, he gives the perfect stem *–funile* in a table of forms referring to different noun classes. Although following Doke's method of verbal conjugation, he has failed to realize that the perfect manner is reserved for stative verbs and *–funa* is not a stative verb. His

error is made even more glaring, because the reader is presented with identical forms incorporating the stem *–funile* in the definite manner of the perfect indicative tense.

(b) The noun prefixes of Class 5, singular, are given as *im–*, *in–*, *i–*, etc. Under the prefix *in–* are recorded the forms *into*, *induna*, *indlu;* whereas the forms *injobo*, *inkomo*, *intshe* appear under *i–*. No reason is given, nor does there appear to be any justification whatsoever, for detaching *i–* from the accompanying nasal consonant in the noun prefix of these latter forms.

The book abounds in spelling and printing errors of all kinds, and as a specimen of the typographer's art is crude in the extreme. The word "grammar" is misspelt "grammer" in each of its three occurrences in the English foreword; and also in Doke: "*Textbook of Zulu Grammer*" (*sic*), in the list of recommended books on p. 153. There is an entirely inconsistent use of hyphens, italics and inverted commas and there is, for the most part, no attempt at typographical contrasting of the linguistic material under discussion (vowels, consonants, formatives, etc.), with the descriptive text. It would be an act of charity to presume printer's errors with regard to certain spelling mistakes; while the frequent repetition of certain inaccuracies is sufficiently regular to indicate their presence in the original manuscript. For example, *yamanje*, *yesimo*, *yamandla* (possessive qualificatives) are used pronominally in this form instead of *eyamanje*, *eyesimo*, *eyamandla*.

In view of the fact that this book is recommended for Bantu schools in Natal and Zululand, it is possible that it may run to more than one edition. The author would be well advised to undertake a very drastic revision of the book before production of any further editions.

L. W. LANHAM.